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WORLD THOUGHT ON THE COLONIAL QUESTION¹

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I KNOW that you will not think I am merely discharging the obligations of ordinary courtesy when I express my gratitude for the honour your University has done me to-day. I appreciate it the more, because I realize not only the place which your University has won for itself in the academic world, but the position it occupies as a centre of the practical studies which are so important in the life of a community like that of South Africa. It is a community which one can no longer describe as young, but it is attacking with all the vigour of youth the task of creating a civilization of its own in circumstances differing widely from those with which we are familiar in Europe. And I am not going to repeat here the customary jest of those who have been fortunate enough to obtain an honorary degree, and congratulate myself that it has been achieved without submitting to the painful process of examination. The examination system may have its own virtues, though they may be regarded somewhat coldly by its victims; but it has been truly said, that it is a test chiefly of one type of ability, namely the ability to secure the approval of an examiner. I have ventured to assume that the receipt of an honorary degree is a test of a different order, which takes account of the studies one has been able to make or the services one has been able to render in the field of human affairs.

It is of one such study in particular that I wish to speak now. India and the British Colonies have been my own special field both of experience and enquiry. They have fruitful problems of all kinds, but I believe that there is one subject of enquiry which is of fundamental interest. It is the study of the conceptions which have from time to time determined the outlook of a European Power in its relations with the indigenous peoples of Asia or Africa over whom it exercises political control.

I have stated the problem in very general terms and it is of so extensive a range that I could not hope to treat it fully now. But let me illustrate one aspect of it by a brief reference to some events which have taken place in my own lifetime, and in which indeed I have myself taken part. They form one chapter in the modern history of India. I am not going to trouble you with any discussion of the original reasons for the extension of our rule there. It is sufficient to say that it was established at a time when the break-up of the great Mogul Empire had plunged India into chaos. There was a condition of political misrule and human misery so complete that it is now difficult to realize it. It is so difficult to do so that modern Indians are apt to question its reality or prefer to ignore its existence.

But we had inherited from the Mogul Empire the tradition of a strong centralized administration, and we reproduced this in the form of an official machinery which controlled practically every aspect of Indian life. And it was to the elaboration of that machinery that we devoted

¹ Address delivered by The Right Honourable The Lord Hailey on the occasion of the conferment on him of the degree of Doctor of Literature honoris causa at a Special Congregation of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, held in the Great Hall of the University on 10 October 1946.

ourselves with ever-increasing determination. In doing so we carried with us the full acquiescence of the Indian people. It was this which enabled the comparatively small administrative service to secure the co-operation and the tacit assent of the Indian public when it set out to introduce law and order, and a system of impartial justice, and to build up the economic structure of the country.

GROWING INDIAN CLAIMS

But there came a period—and I come here to the point I wish to make to you—a period when other considerations supervened. They seemed almost to submerge the conceptions, based on the needs of material and economic development, which had previously stood in the forefront of our policy of rule. They were considerations based entirely on Indian claims to political status. We were constrained now to concentrate on the more exacting task of adjusting our methods of rule to meet the ever-growing claims of politically-minded Indians for an increase of their share in the functions of government. There appeared to be no one stage at which we could call a halt. It at first seemed to be a question only of replacing by an Indian personnel the majority of the European personnel in the various services of the government. But it ended by our conceding to India a political status which, if the present internal dissensions can be overcome, will give her complete and unrestricted control over all the legislative and administrative functions of government.

I have had a purpose in thus drawing on my personal experiences. For as I have looked back on them myself, and have pondered their lessons, they have suggested to me questions which have troubled my own mind, and which I wish to put to you to-day. Can the development I have just described to you be considered as peculiar to Indian conditions? Does it, in other words, only reflect the normal result of the impact of internal forces on our government, a government which we may regard, according to our point of view, either as lacking in determination

to carry out its mission of rule, or alternatively, as having possessed a liberal tradition which made its self-extinction inevitable? Or is what has happened in this case only a symptom of a world-wide movement which is establishing a new outlook on the relation between a controlling European authority and the indigenous peoples it may control? And if so, how far is this due to the play of internal forces, or how far is it due to the influence of forces of an international character?

You will, I know, appreciate the significance of these questions, for they affect a very wide field of interests. At first sight, they might seem confined to purely colonial territories, but their reaction, as you will clearly see, is far wider. It will however be sufficient if I draw some conclusions from the history of the British Colonial system, with which I am best acquainted.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES WEAK

There are many of us who can recall a period when it seemed to be in the natural order of things that a country should use its maritime power to extend its territories overseas; or at all events, it was natural that it should do so, where the indigenous peoples were weakly organized, or had no form of government with which trading arrangements could be made on any other basis. For it was, of course, mainly in order to expand or protect our own trading interests that we extended our jurisdiction over some of the indigenous peoples of Asia and of Africa. I can leave out of account the colonisation, mainly by slaves, of islands in the West Indies, nearly all uninhabited or very sparsely inhabited at the time; and I can leave out of account also the acquisition of the various possessions, such as Ceylon, which we took over as a consequence of the Napoleonic wars. But there were few who questioned the reasonableness of extending jurisdiction over large areas in Africa and Asia for the purposes I have named. If doubts were expressed, they arose mainly from the fact that competing claims were being put forward by rival nations, or else from an apprehension of

the commitments which the expansion of overseas territories might involve. It was not perhaps until the Berlin Conference of the early 'eighties, which dealt with the Partition of Central Africa, that the reasonableness of acquiring control over these indigenous peoples was called in question. And even then the question was mainly inspired rather by the interest which other European nations were displaying in the process of partition than by other considerations.

But that is not to say that no concern was shown in the manner in which these possessions were to be governed, even though there might have seemed nothing unnatural in the fact of their acquisition. There were in Great Britain in particular influences coming from three directions which went to form the general view in this matter.

There was in the first place the effect of the humanitarian movement which had originated in the efforts made to put an end to the slave trade and subsequently to secure the emancipation of slaves. It is to that movement that we owed the growth of the doctrine of Trusteeship—a doctrine which in time became the standard applied by the more enlightened section of the public in judging of the merits of many aspects of Colonial policy. It was, of course, a moral standard, and it operated in the main only when moral issues were seen to be involved. But more than once it sufficed to carry the day when there was any question whether official authority was being abused, or native peoples were being exploited in private interests.

SPIRIT OF FREE TRADE

There was, in the second place, the influence derived from the dominance of the principle of Free Trade, which held the field from the middle of the last century up to the time of the First World War. I do not propose to say here anything in justification of an economic system which world conditions have forced us to abandon, though I think that most of the world would be glad to return to the spirit it expressed. I am concerned rather with the fact that, looked at

from the point of view of the Colonial peoples, it indicated that they ought to be allowed to buy and sell in the cheapest market, instead of being treated as an economic reservoir maintained for the sole profit of the Power which had control over them. It no doubt prevented their governments from developing local industries by a protective tariff. But at the time, industrial development meant little to them; they were producers of raw material, and a free market was essential to them.

Then, thirdly, there was the influence of that Liberal tradition which pointed to the introduction of free institutions and the ultimate achievement of a self-governing status. It is true that this tradition had its origin in social conditions very different from those prevailing among the indigenous peoples of Asia or Africa. It was the prized heritage of peoples who had evolved for themselves the principle of representative and responsible government, and who had an agelong experience both of its benefits and its limitations. That was a system of government of which the indigenous peoples of Asia and Africa had had no experience, and it still remained to be seen if they had any aptitude for it. But the tradition was ingrained in the British people. It had determined their attitude to the political development of the Dominions. In projecting it into the Colonial field, they did so in the faith that they were introducing there the only political institutions in which they themselves had any confidence.

Here, then, were three principles which combined to shape the course of British policy in dealing with their Colonial territories. And if I speak of them as peculiarly British, it is perhaps rather in reference to the manner of their application than to the character of the principles themselves. For there has throughout been manifested that spirit of adaptation and adjustment, that sense of practical rather than theoretic logic which is so marked a characteristic of the British people. And nowhere has this been seen more clearly than in its hesitation when faced by practical obstacles which circumstances have presented, and most noticeably as a result of the mixed racial composition of some of the Colonial

communities. For there are, as I need not point out, some Colonies where we have had not only to consider the needs of the indigenous but to recognize also the existence of a large European settlement. To adjust the balance between them has been one of our most refractory problems. It is certainly one of which the solution cannot be found by applying the strict logic of our own representative institutions.

REPERCUSSIONS OF WAR

But I must now mark a further stage, one in which policy has not been determined only by the play of domestic force, but has come under external influences. It is often said that what is now generally called the international interest in Colonies dates from the period of the Berlin Acts, to which I have already referred. If so, it has only a limited interest, for the most operative part of the Acts dealt only with the economic relations of the Powers that were competing in the Partition of Central Africa. Nor could one say that the introduction of the scheme of Mandates at the Versailles Conference was evidence of any new outlook on the position of the indigenous peoples. The Mandatory system did not extend beyond the control of ex-German and ex-Turkish possessions; and though the Covenant of the League declared that the care of the less advanced peoples was a sacred trust of civilization, this did little more than to set the seal on the moral doctrine underlying the British principle of Trusteeship.

The present-day international interest in the situation of the indigenous peoples is of much wider range and it owes its force to other causes. These are partly to be found in the events connected with the late World War, which gave to large numbers of the fighting men of the world a personal acquaintance with the conditions in which these people live. And it is inevitable that they should have been impressed by the depth of the gulf which exists between the native standards of life and those of the more advanced and highly organized nations.

But there were other causes also. It is not

without importance that there should have been a wide recognition that if the more industrialised peoples were to retain their own high standards of life, that could only be done by opening to them the expanding markets which a development of the economic standards of the less advanced peoples would provide. And we must also take account of the fact that many thinking people, anxious to see the consummation of a new world order, have felt strongly that this could not be realized so long as the world was divided between countries who were distinguished by such great differences in social conditions, and economic status.

Let me say at once that I have here looked only for substantial causes which may explain the present international interest in the more backward and dependent peoples. I have not taken account of what I hope will be only temporary phases, such as the American attack during the recent war on what was called British Imperialism, or again the Russian denunciation of all control exercised over indigenous peoples as having been conceived in the interest of capitalist exploitation. It would be alien to the philosophic atmosphere which I am sure rules here, if I attempted to characterize these expressions of view in suitable terms.

INTERNATIONAL OPINION

Speaking generally, however, I think that the international opinion which we must now take into account has manifested itself in two ways. There is, in the first place, a very widespread and very deep impression of the inferiority of the conditions of life under which the indigenous people live, and of the need for a rapid improvement in them. And in the second place there is an impression that there is, after all, something unnatural in a situation which makes so many indigenous peoples subject to an external control. If control must be exercised, then it is urged that it should only be for the purpose of raising their social and other standards to a level at which they can be expected to stand by themselves. Now this sentiment may or may not be logical,

and there is much that might be said on both sides of the case. But it is impressions of this kind that are likely to form the background, perhaps the unconscious background, of general world thought on these matters. If we look, for example, at the proceedings of the San Francisco Conference, there was a good deal of what can best be described as purely political skirmishing, especially in connection with the position of the particular territories likely to come under the new Trust system. But these are, after all, only a small proportion of the countries now under the control of Colonial Powers. On the other hand, the international interest in the larger questions to which I have referred is likely to be reflected in the proceedings of the Social and Economic Commission of the United Nations. It is there that one may look to see the influence of the impressions I have attempted to describe.

But I must come back to British Colonial policy. Has it responded in any way to these new influences? It seems to me that there has been a growing recognition that Colonial policy is no longer a matter of purely domestic concern. It is true that this is a sentiment which is far from welcome in many quarters, which feel that we can have a legitimate pride in our own record, and that neither we nor the peoples we control have anything to gain from the interest displayed by the outside world. But we are on the whole a realistic people, and we cannot escape the consequences of our having been parties to the San Francisco Charter. It is even more important that our people generally are now firmly convinced of the necessity for raising the standards of life of the indigenous people we control. It is there that I find the factor which has given us something of a new outlook on our relations with these peoples. In the past there was a tendency to place the emphasis largely on the speed of political development, and it was of course that aspect of things which obscured all other considerations in India. I do not say that we have in any way lost sight of the tradition which points to the development of self-governing institutions in the Colonies. Far from it. Not a year passes which does not see a substantial

advance made, in one territory or another, in this direction. But though the necessity for raising the general standards of life may not have taken a clear priority, there is nevertheless a growing conviction in the minds of most thinking people, that political advance will be an illusion, and may be a danger, unless it rests on a firmer foundation of economic and social achievement. And this is the explanation of the wide acceptance given to the measure recently taken to provide financial assistance to the Colonies in order to enable them to make more rapid progress in this direction. It had previously been accepted that the Colonial peoples must depend on their own resources for financing schemes of material or social development. But though a few of the richer territories might afford this, it might mean almost indefinite delay in other cases and delay in its turn might mean that political concessions would have to be given on a very inadequate groundwork of social conditions. You will no doubt recall the extent of this provision; it amounts to £10,000,000 a year. And you will no doubt also recall that it was agreed at a period of the war when our own fortunes seemed to be at their lowest ebb.

LACK OF BASIC KNOWLEDGE

There is another conclusion at which we have arrived, and it is one which should be of interest in an academic circle. We have been struck by the lack of the basic knowledge needed for solving some of the problems of material and social advance among these peoples. We have often been content hitherto to apply empirical methods, drawn from our own experience of Europe, to solve problems of health, of educational needs, of the methods applicable in agriculture and animal husbandry, of the behaviour of soils, even of the response made by different types of society to political institutions. And we realize now that much more fundamental study is required of these matters in their Asiatic or African setting. Perhaps it is true that, though few of us can be scientists, we are all more conscious to-day of the need for a scientific approach.

We have at all events become aware that there are here problems, in the field both of the natural and social sciences, which need more investigation and more research, and the British Parliament is now providing a very considerable sum annually for this purpose.

PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION

Having gone thus far, I hope you will allow me to detain you while I deal with one other aspect of our policy, for it is one which I think must be of special concern to the people of the Dominions. Let me assume for the moment that the standards of life of the indigenous peoples can be substantially raised. I will not assume that their conditions can approximate to those of the more highly organized nations of the world, for the standards of life in any country must depend not only on its natural resources but on the capacity of the people to use them to the best advantage. But let me assume that they can be raised to a level which may justify the people of a Colony being given control of their own affairs. And let me assume too that some system of government can be devised which will solve the difficult problems arising from the mixed racial composition of some of these territories. What then is to be the final issue of the process, which I can best describe as one of decolonization? What will be the relation of those new self-governing units to the United Kingdom and the rest of the Empire? We in Great Britain have of late years become far more conscious that questions of this kind are not problems for ourselves alone, but problems of the Commonwealth. That is development of the right kind, which we must all welcome. But I fear that neither our Government, *nor* our public, has yet thought out the answer to the questions I have just put. Our Government has lately told Ceylon that it hopes to see it attain Dominion status in a not distant future, and this, so far as I am aware, is the only commitment that has been made in this direction. Elsewhere the objective held out has only been self-government, and this term is not incompatible with a status which will give a Colony complete control of its internal affairs

while reserving control over its external relations. But what if the precedent of the promise held out to Ceylon is to be followed in other cases? Will this mean that each Colony, as its turn comes, will be given the status of a Dominion and all that this term implies—freedom to make its own treaties with foreign nations, freedom to make its own choice in the issue of peace and war, and freedom to stay within or move out of the Empire? You will recall the terms explicitly used to India when we were asked to define the meaning of the status of Dominion held out to her in May 1942. Or are we to assume on the other hand that an effort will be made to combine those new self-governing units in some form that will give them the standing and the resources that we have hitherto associated with a Dominion? Can we, for example (and I only quote this as an example), look forward to the formation of a United States of Africa? It would no doubt be a difficult task for the constitutional architect to frame a union of countries so different in outlook and in their racial characteristics. But I, for one, would prefer to see the attempt made, rather than that the Commonwealth should have to face the problem that would result from the creation of these new states, for they would be independent members of a family whose protection they may require but whose guidance they may not always be willing to accept.

I do not conceal my own purpose in making these observations. There is perhaps no greater vice than complacency, whether in private or public matters. I do not wish to speak in terms of complacency about the past record of the Commonwealth. But I *am* one of those who believe that it has a great mission in the world, a mission it can only fulfill if it maintains its moral leadership. And its influence is impaired so long as it includes within its orbit units which are weak in their resources, with low economic standards, and of marked inferiority in their social conditions. It would be no less impaired if these units were developed on lines which would prejudice the solidarity of the Commonwealth or threaten the unity of purpose with which it can face our troubled and unsettled world.

AN ADVANCE IN AFRICAN SOCIOLOGY¹

MAX GLUCKMAN

I. Introduction

Anthropological studies tend to be repetitive in the sense that they are descriptions on the same plane of analysis of new social regions or new aspects of social life. Rarely do they provide us with a new set of abstractions allowing deeper analysis, and giving us new theoretical concepts and new techniques of fieldwork. I do not decry the merits of the "repetitive" studies. They are immensely valuable both in their own right and in their contribution to the general advance of our discipline. Periodically, however, we get crucial studies which come as climaxes of previous work and also beget a new trend of research. Fortes' *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi* falls into this select company.

One of the tests of these books is that they should raise new problems in the very process of analysing others. This was significantly true of Evans-Pritchard's study of the Nuer.²

Fortes' book, as he himself says in the *Foreword*, follows with the wealth of detail of thirty month's work, the lead set by Evans-Pritchard on the basis of a year's research. His study crowns the value of Evans-Pritchard's. He has not only followed, he has also set a new lead.

Since Evans-Pritchard first published his analysis on the Nuer and Anuak of the lineage, whose significance in Africa had been initially demonstrated by Radcliffe-Brown and Mrs. Hoernlé among the Southern Bantu, it has become the centre of studies of African kinship. Meek and Forde in Nigeria, and Fortes in the Gold Coast, have demonstrated its importance

in West Africa, and Schapera, Hunter and Kuper in South Africa. Fortes saves these studies from becoming repetitive. But his work raises much wider issues. He puts forward a theory of ritual, based on Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown, but constructed more objectively. By implication he refines an increasingly used conception of our field of study, to question such fundamental ideas as: what is a social system? How are the different categories of social relations integrated in a single social structure? etc.

As I worked through the book, I became increasingly aware of problems I had missed in my own analyses: not only of ranges of facts I should have collected for a comprehensive account, but problems of categories, of types of behaviour, of analytic interconnections. For one value of a new theoretical contribution is that it enables us to see the data we already have in new patterns. Evans-Pritchard and Fortes have shown that the lineage system is the morphological framework of stateless societies, and that this system interlinks many categories of social relations. The administrative framework of the state may similarly be more than an organizing mechanism: it may be an element of social structure, durable as the lineage system, and serving as it does to interlock variant and congruent systems of social relations, with ritual values acting as pins at crucial points.

It is interesting to speculate on the interdependence of the research-worker and his field of study. I do not mean by this the old charge that each anthropologist's account of a primitive society is a projection of his own personality. But each field by its objective facts forces on the enquirer a particular line of research. To me it seems more than coincidence that the students of segmentary, stateless polities have posed more fruitful problems of political structure than the far more numerous workers on highly organized states. Anthropologists who work on the latter tend to concentrate on the mechanism of administration: the units that are administratively de-

¹ Meyer Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi: Being the First Part of an Analysis of the Social Structure of a Trans-Volta tribe*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1945. 30s.

² "The Nuer: Tribe and Clan", *Sudan Notes and Records*, 1933-35; *The Nuer*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1940; and *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1945 (reprinted from *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1938).

marcated, the chiefs and the officials, the rights and duties that inhere in the apparatus of state. These are undoubtedly real problems. But do they lead away our attention from underlying problems, in the relation of fields of behaviour and values, of social alignments that are not so clearly demarcated? Is it sufficient to see the paramount chief as arch-priest of the nation in view of his political position?—may it not be that his ritual value arises from the conflicts aroused by his power over subordinate groupings?¹ An African state appears to be pyramidal in form; but the categories of social relations which are knit together at every level vary radically. How is this variant interlocking related to the administrative hierarchy? This kind of problem is forced on the student of a segmentary society if he is even to pose his problems. He has to seek for the fusion which is the other aspect of fission—does the anthropologist in studying a state not miss fission which is the other aspect of fusion, and therefore the character of the fusion itself, which may exist outside of, in conflict with, the administrative framework? In the state, as in a segmentary polity, the varied integrating mechanisms which complement cleavages may not coincide simply in a single administrative office and officer.

We know already that African administrative organizations contain inherent cleavages.² On this view the conflicts, the rebellions, the dynastic struggles for power, which periodically rupture the internal relationships within the state become not breaches from norms, but norms themselves, processes inherent in the balance of the equilibrium. Fortes shows that in Tale segmentary polity open conflicts emerge from the structural differentiation within the lineage, and are resolved or reconciled in a new balance, by ritual collabora-

tion. Similarly, in states such as the Zulu the splitting of administrative divisions, the conflicts between claimants to a chiefship, between sub-chiefs of provinces, between sub-chiefs and chiefs, may well mirror a readjustment of the political organization to accommodate structural differentiation at the level of village and neighbourhood relations. This type of analysis is likely to recast our whole approach to the problems of civil and external war and to sanctions. Thus I think anthropological research has already demonstrated additional implications awaiting analysis in the thesis that some rebellions are fought to defend the kingship against the king.

To these themes I return at the end of this essay. I use them here to indicate the stimulus derived from Fortes' book. Before explaining this more fully, I have to set out a bare minimum of his own argument.

II. The Tallensi Lineage and Clan

From the very beginning of his study Fortes was confronted with major difficulties. He could not even isolate the people he was studying, as Evans-Pritchard could isolate the Nuer. The people of the Voltaic region between the Mossi, Dagomba, and Mamprusi states stretch without political unity across the land. Each so-called tribe is sporadically at enmity with its neighbours yet it does not seem to have any distinct internal unity as against them. Rattray discovered that the people comprised two major groups of communities, one claiming to be autochthonous, the other to be immigrant. The two sets of communities are indistinguishable from each other by broad linguistic and cultural criteria, though they have distinctive ritual observances. The immigrants may be regarded as independent outliers of the Mamprusi with whose chief they recognize kinship, but not political ties. The autochtones hold exclusive priestly offices in the cult of the Earth, as Custodians of the Earth.¹ These distinctive communities are articulated in a common polity.

¹ In a different form, this occurs in conquered territories in South and Central Africa.

¹ e.g. it is taboo for a Zulu or Pedi to anticipate the chief in eating first fruits, but a breach of the taboo mystically threatens the chief, not the transgressing subject.

² See e.g. S.F. Nadel, *A Black Byzantium*, Oxford, 1942; H. Kuper, *A Black Aristocracy: Rank among the Zwaazi*, Oxford, 1946; and my own "The Kingdom of the Zulu of South-East Africa" in *African Political Systems* (ed. Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, Oxford, 1940), and "Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand", *Bantu Studies*, March, and June, 1940.

They think of themselves as Tallensi but they cannot be marked off as a distinct group. In order to establish their relative identity, Fortes traces social links from the Tong Hills which he treats as the centre of the region. Here immigrants, Namoos, and autochtones, Talis, live close together, and the line of their collocation forms a social and territorial cleavage which is the central pivot of the segmentary structure. "The cardinal principle of Tale social structure is that every social grouping defined as a unit in one situation, or according to one principle, dissolves into an association of lesser and differentiated units in another situation or according to another principle." The basic unit of the social structure is the maximal lineage, a group of people linked by an accepted genealogy through the patriline to a reputed common ancestor. But the lineage is not a mere collection of individuals: it is an organization of lesser but similar parts. "It grows by the continuous multiplication of its parts, not by the mere accretion of new members. And this takes place by the splitting of its cells, the minimal segments, into new segments in successive generations." Evans-Pritchard first analysed this process in detail among the Nuer and Fortes has written on it among the Yako.¹

It is one of Fortes's major contributions to advance this particular analysis.

The maximal lineage, which in theory never divides, consists in an integrated balance of opposed segments, constituted on the same patrilineal principle; and these in turn divide into coordinate segments, similarly constituted, till the minimal lineage, the sons of a living father, is reached. Every man²—but not a woman—who leaves living male children founds a new lineage within the system of parts. When he dies, he gets a separate ancestral-shrine and his patrilineal descendants constitute a separate lineage as against the patri-descendants of his full- and

half-brothers and patri-cousins. They unite with these to form a superordinate lineage centred in a common grandfather, as against similarly constituted lineages, coordinate at a higher level, which centre in their grandfather's brothers, own and classificatory. Should only one man in a generation leave patri-descendants, the process of segmentation is postponed: at that stage the segment as a whole, divided at a lower level, will stand in contraposition to a union of segments in another line at a more ancestral stage. Fortes, like Evans-Pritchard, has a terminology of degrees to indicate this. The maximal lineage divided into major segments, these into outer medial lineages, these into inner medial lineages, these into nuclear lineages, these into effective minimal lineages, and these into minimal lineages, the descendants of a living man. Evans-Pritchard's terminology was simpler: his clan consisted of maximal lineages, these divided three generations lower into major lineages, and these in turn three generations lower into minimal lineages. Those lineages are respectively the cores of primary, secondary, and tertiary territorial sections. It is perhaps unfortunate that Fortes should not have been able to use the same scale, but judging by the published information, the Tallensi lineage-system is more differentiated than that of the Nuer.

One reason why Fortes imported words of different connotation, denoting degree of comparison and other values (e.g. "effective", "nuclear"), is that he wished to denote at what points other categories of social relations overlapped with lineage relations. The latter are always corporate: members of a lineage are undifferentiated in relation to "outsiders" (i.e. to members of coordinate lineages), though differentiated within themselves. At the more ancestral levels of lineage-segmentation the main social ties are realized entirely in corporate activities. At the level of the nuclear lineage the system of domestic relations interpenetrates the system of lineage relations. The nuclear lineage is the core of a domestic family living in one compound: and the *nucleus* within which the next segmentation will occur. The inner lineage "frequently forms the core of

¹ *Marriage and Family among the Yako of South-Eastern Nigeria*, 1942.

² The Tallensi do not appear to have the custom by which a woman can marry a wife and be *pater* to the latter's children. This occurs among Nuer, Zulu, Lovedu, Dahomey, and various other tribes in South, North-East, and West Africa, Csa Herskovits, "Woman Marriage in Dahomey", *Africa*, X, 3.

an expanded¹ family; it determines the widest field within which domestic relations prevail. Its members have differentiated person to person relations, based on the recognition of generation differences and proxy-parenthood, as well as corporate lineage relations." Their moral bonds are stronger: sexual intercourse with a "clan-sister" is reprobated and adultery with a fellow member's wife grave sin; they work common patrimonial land. That is, this grade of lineage is the point of intersection of these different categories of social relations. It is recognized by the Tallensi, but its span varies from lineage to lineage. From this point down these additional relations become more intense, until they end in the full cooperation within the household of which the effective minimal lineage is the frame. As one ascends from the medial lineage, the bonds between the members change. At this range, for example, fellow-members help each in collective work, as individuals; heads of these lineages may be helped by members of coordinate medial lineages within the maximal lineage in a representative capacity, i.e. some of them attend specifically to represent their segments. A man may not marry into his mother's medial lineage. In the maximal lineage, the chief critical norms are the exogamous rule, the ban on adultery with a fellow's wife or marriage to a fellow's divorced wife, and the leviratic right. These rights also extend to the clan (see below) but here we begin to move in the field of politico-ritual relations. At all stages there are ritual bonds: the injunction of assisting in funerals and participation in a common cult of the ancestors of the segments involved.

Fortes sets out the framework of the lineage order at length, since "observation in the field showed that every significant social activity among the Tallensi is tied up with the lineage system". His analysis justifies his assertion that "it is impossible fully to understand [Tallensi] economic, jural, or ritual institutions without a grasp of their lineage system". I have therefore had to follow him and attempt a summary of the system. For in this society without govern-

ment, and without history in the sense of a record of specific events, there are two things which give continuity from the beginning of time into the future. The one is the Earth on which men make their lives; and this means the Earth as inhabited by the people. The second is the lineage. Hence the dominant ritual systems of the Tallensi are connected with the Earth and the lineage ancestral-cult. To this I return later: I mention it here to emphasize, as Fortes does, that apart from the lineage Tallensi have neither history nor culture. As he aptly puts it, "the memories and reminiscences of the old men are parts of their biographies and never contribute to the building up of a body of socially preserved history".

Near the end of his analysis he writes: "In the course of our morphological analysis of the lineage system from within we have made references to the corporate activities in which this system emerges. . . it has been convenient to speak as if the lineage structure exists and persists apart from the activities in which it emerges. But this is only an analytical device. . . . The implied distinction between the structure of the lineage and its function does, however, bring out the important fact that the lineage structure is more than any of its functions. It is the integral of what is common to all Tale institutions in which the patrilineal line operates as an organizing principle. It is the general factor of consistency, coherence, and continuity in the social structure.

"The concept of social structure essentially implies ordered extension *in time* as well as ordered articulation *at a given time*. . . . Among the Tallensi the lineage system enables us to see the operation of the time factor in social structure. . . . We see how the lineage structure at a given time encapsulates all that is structurally relevant of its past phases and at the same time continually thrusts its growing-points forward. The dynamic equilibrium of a lineage is an equilibrium in time." The history of the lineage is written on the surface of the land: in homesteads and farmboundaries and shrines in their positions relative to one another. It is written too in the modern positions of the present lineage-heads. Here Fortes elaborates Evans-Pritchard's analysis of structural

¹ I agree this is a better term than *extended*.

space and time, particularly in his discussion of the order of segmentation in lineages. In this argument, he makes a definite new contribution in his description of how the lineage functions as a system of parts, and not as a collection of individuals. It operates by the rule that on specific ceremonial and jural occasions every segment of the lineage involved must be *represented*, preferably by its head, but at least by one adult man. If more than one man is present, all rank as a unity. An elder can be head of several segments of different orders of segmentation. Thus at any one moment the whole history of the lineage is contained in the existent segments: and as each must be represented on ceremonial occasions, every ceremony crystallises both the continuity of the lineage in time, with its culture as ordained by the ancestors who are being tended on, and also its present structural form. In fact, in this homogeneous society, history and form of social structure are almost one.

The long quotation from Fortes above can almost be paralleled from Evans-Pritchard. In his *Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer* he describes how women wander about, live in concubinage, and produce children for men with whom they have never lived. He concludes: "Our survey of Nyueny [village] showed everywhere change and confusion. One enquires how so mercurial a system can work. Has there not been some deep error, some serious misunderstanding, in the investigation? I think not. The change and confusion which are so evident in family and domestic associations are not to be seen in the larger social groups, particularly in the lineages. The dynamic social process is there slowed down and is stabilized into structure. For it is very apparent that there are two kinship configurations of persons among the Nuer: the one consisting of their domestic interrelations and the other of their legal relationships. The domestic interrelations have a relatively low degree of consistency and durability compared with the legal, and in our sense of the word, structural interrelations.

"Living among the Nuer it is deeply impressed on one that the lineages are the stable frame-

work of kinship structure and that families, even simple legal families are, in comparison, loose and unstable associations which are the means by which new structural tissues are formed. Individuals and 'family' associations of one kind and another seem to float about, as it were, and have an independent existence. But they are anchored to some lineage, or, if they break away from it sooner or later attach themselves to another lineage, take root in its stem, and become part of its growth."

Fortes and Evans-Pritchard thus emphasize the same point. Evans-Pritchard did not analyse Nuer religion, and it is here that Fortes gives a new lead. Previously, anthropologists have stated in general terms that there is a close association of the ancestral-cult and the kin-group: this was obvious enough. Here he shows that this association is far more than that the cult is a mnemonic of genealogical relationships. "The lineage structure is far more than any of its functions": therefore it has an autonomy of its own. This gives lineage membership, patrilineage in constituting corporate unity, a value different from the value of kinship ties alone. For the Tallensi, kinship values are axiomatic and they are psychically founded in the sentiments established within the family. On the structural plane, their chief ritual projection is in the cult of the patrilineal ancestors who symbolize the unity of corporate units, and therefore the stability and coherence of Tale life. It appears to me implicit in Fortes' argument, and this is borne out by various incidental references in the body of his work, that the spirits of matrilineal ancestors are essentially different from the patri-ancestors though the ideology of beliefs is similar. As an individual outside of the patri-lineage system a man may have a matrilineal ancestral-spirit, male or female, as a spirit-guardian, or divining-spirit, or his divinity. Here the spirits act for the man in terms of the web of kinship, which is particular for each individual, and not for him as a member of a corporate unit. Similarly, among the Pondo it is frequently matrilineal spirits who possess diviners.¹ This seems to symbolize that fact

¹ Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*. Oxford, 1936, p.233.

that becoming a diviner is essentially an individual attribute, and not a character attaching to a man as a member of a lineage.

Again, throughout the South-eastern Bantu area spirits which are capriciously evil are women. The Zulu say that the spirits of old women are always evil, and bring misfortune. Dr. Fortes tells me that the Tallensi consider the female ancestors to be more capricious and vindictive than male ancestors. If the patri-ancestors are the symbols of continuity, of the enduring values of the lineage and therefore of moral imperatives, they cannot be held responsible for unmerited punishment. Fortes thus opens a new approach to the whole problems of matrilineality, and the position of women, in these patrilineal societies. It is already well-authenticated that in them women are frequently sources of ritual evil, as in their periods. Women are witches, men are sorcerers.¹

Fortes' analysis of the historical, and therefore ritual, value of the patrilineage ancestors for Tallensi segmentary policy, suggests a new approach to parallel problems in highly-organized African states. Clearly as has been frequently stated the cult of the chief's ancestors symbolizes the history of the tribe and therefore its persistence in time. But does it not perhaps relate more closely to the administrative organization than to the relations of chiefly family and subjects as such? Among the Tallensi it is the morphology of the lineage-system which constitutes the framework of Tale society. It holds together individuals in time and space. It serves to enforce rights, both through the sanctions of public opinion and the ancestral-cult, and through quasi-judicial process. Thus a man who has a claim against someone of another clan may raid cattle of anyone in that clan. "The victim of the raid could demand restitution from his clansman, the original debtor; and I know of men who pawned a child or sold him into slavery in order to find the means of repaying a clansman who had been raided, rather than let the affair

became a source of conflict in the clan. This is a good illustration, incidentally, of the statement . . . that collective responsibility is not a principle of Tale jurial relations. It is not the clan but the debtor himself who is responsible for his debt. Selfhelp is a technique for putting pressure on a debtor through the mechanisms of clan and lineage cohesion", in the absence of judicial organization. We know similarly that Nuer will not support a kinsman in a feud if he is in the wrong. The lineage-system thus indirectly enables people to obtain their rights and thus sanctions rights and order.

This is the obvious function of a state administrative apparatus. Has the apparatus also functions parallel to the other functions of the lineage? Like the lineage-system in a stateless society, the administrative organization is a body on which the living tissues of the African state are grafted. For the positions of chief, to the sub-chief, to district-head, to village-head, in the web of authority do not exhaust their social values. They stand also for the identity and unity of the sections they "rule" as against like segments: the chief against foreign chiefs, the village-head against other headmen. The African state like the lineage is not a mere collection of subjects but a system of parts. Do the sub-chiefs act in relation with the chief not as his subordinates, but as the representatives of the segments that pivot on them? Is there a constant readjustment in relations of these "segment representatives" which is rooted in the further segmentary differentiation at a lower level, in villages and neighbourhoods?

I pose these problems here, for they are suggested by reflections on state ritual organization, which have been stimulated by Fortes' analysis. Meat of Zulu national sacrifices is allocated to sections of the state, as sections, irrespective of the numbers in each section. The Swazi first fruits ceremonies in parts hinge on the hostility to the chief of his brothers, and the support he gets from the royal clan.¹ Obviously there are radical differences, and state integration is of a

¹ See my *Ritual Systems of the South-Eastern Bantu*, University of Cape Town, 1947, and "Zulu Women in Hoculture Ritual", *Bantu Studies*, Sept. 1935.

¹ H. Kuper, "A Ritual of Kingship", *Africa*, January 1944.

different type from lineage-integration. But it seems to me that similar processes are definitely present. At least, to return to our starting point, ritual values attach to every point of the administrative organization as such, because it is the enduring frame of the state, which is locked in the person of the chief. The cleavages between him and his brothers, between him and his chiefs, between him and his subjects, are bridged by administrative ties which at each level of the organization knit together divergent interests. . . .

III. Clanswomen, Wives, and Matrilaterality

Fortes' closely reasoned analysis breaks down at one point. He has a good section on the place of clanswomen in the clan organization. By the rule of exogamy women have to marry out of the clan, but they always remain members of it and subject to its ancestors. There are taboos which symbolize the conflict caused by the women's membership of a group which they cannot perpetuate. At funerals, clanswomen have specific roles as such which are sharply differentiated from the roles of the grouping of wives married into the clan. Women are "our clan-sisters" to all clansmen, as they call the wives of all fellow-clansmen "our wives". I consider that Fortes has not appreciated fully this polar opposition in terms, of the two categories of women, or that every woman in practice falls into both categories in relation to different clans, and that this failure has misled his interpretation of matrilinearity vs. patrilinearity in lineage-segmentation.

In discussing lineage-segmentation he argues that the points of division within lineages are the "mothers". He quotes, *mulier finis familiae est*, and cites a similar Tale saying, to expand the principle that women produce children to perpetuate a foreign group. He might have cited the fuller, though possibly later, maxim, *mulier et origo et finis familiae est*, to crystallise his later argument. In this he demonstrates that at the lowest level of lineage-segmentation "fission takes place in the first instance between matri-segments" (i.e. between the sons of one man by different wives, and not between those by one wife). Full-

brothers feel more closely bound to one another than half-brothers. Fortes relates this to the conception of a house (*yir*), as belonging to one man, and a section of a house, a room (*dug*), as belonging to each wife. He argues that two segments which are united in relation to a common progenitor, may be divided in relation to separate progenitresses (i.e. to two wives of this man).

This however does not justify the manner in which Fortes applies the thesis that "patrilineal origin and matrilineal origin work in polar opposition to each other", the former uniting segments and the latter dividing them. It is contradicted by his own facts. Basically, it is irrelevant if one segment is divided from another by different matrilineal origin. He himself shows that when a man *A*, whether he is a monogamist or polygynist, has more than one son, the lineage centring on *A* always splits into new subordinate lineages centring in each son. And if *A* was a polygynist, and had sons by each wife, each single son founds a new lineage. Common matrilineal origin merely unites two or more of these lineages as against lineages whose founders were born of different mothers. But the former do not form lineages of a *different order* from the latter: all are coordinate.

Origin from a common progenitress is an *additional* point of fission and bond of fusion between lineages; it is not, in itself, the source of differentiation. This is quite clear from Fortes' own description, in which he constantly uses the comparative degree to describe matrilineal linking of lineages: "somewhat closer ties", "greater cohesion", "more closely united", and so on. We may compare this linkage with those which explain the ties between true agnatic lineages and "accessory" lineages grafted on to them, in terms of descent of the accessory lineages from a sister's son. Similarly, where maximal lineages are interlinked in clanship (see below) it is sometimes explained by a uterine link. Ultimately, this closer linking can be referred to the fact that kinship as such is cognatic, and that the other part of the kinship system, the web of interpersonal relationships, runs in all lines, in opposition to corporate agnatic kinship.

We have therefore to recast Fortes's interpretation at this point. He finds validity for it in its projection on to the ritual plane. The focal ancestor shrine of an inclusive segment "is designated 'the [shrine] of the father. . .', a notion which stresses the dominance of the father-figure in the unity of the patrilineal descent group and in the coherence of the family. But when a lineage is visualized as a set of segments, these are differentiated by reference to their separate *progenitric*es, just as in the joint family the offspring can be subdivided in accordance with their maternal origins. The focal ancestor shrine of each segment is then called 'the [shrine] of the mothers [of the segment] . . .'. It is identical in form with the 'fathers' [shrine]' but complementary to it in function. Its name stresses the predominance of matrilineal origin in the differentiation of the segments of a lineage, by contrast with the patrilateral lineage as a whole. Tallensi speak of a 'mothers' [shrine]' as being the shrine of the segment's founding ancestor and his mother, by contrast with the 'fathers' [shrine]', which they say is the shrine of the founding ancestor of the lineage only. But they recognise that a 'mothers' [shrine]', will in the course of time become a 'fathers' [shrine]' when the lineage undergoes internal differentiation into subsegments, and may function as a 'fathers' [shrine]', if the segment is already so differentiated. When a segment of a lineage is thus distinguished from co-ordinate segments of the same lineage, it is also implicitly contrasted with the whole lineage. It is thought of as a matri-segment, though named after its founding ancestor, and is described as a 'room', *dug*,—"the children of one mother . . ."—of the house', *yir*, on the model of the joint family in which the matrilateral *dug* is a segment of the patrilateral *yir*."

Nevertheless, it seems clear that a mother with two sons does not have a shrine to serve as an ancestral focus for the two segments descended from her, in their "closer unity" against co-ordinate segments descended from the sons of her co-wives. (We are told (p. 52) that a man's spirit can never receive sacrifice from matrilineal kin.) The "shrine of the mother" as a focus of

lineage identity is therefore never in fact the shrine of a woman, but always the shrine of a man, her son. As Fortes says a little later, "every lineage, no matter what its span or order may be, has only one founding ancestor and one progenitrix, this man's *mother*" [my italics]. Note that in lineage production the union of progenitor and progenitrix is of son to mother, and not of husband to wife, which is the procreative union in the family.

For as a man alone cannot reproduce, so an agnatic lineage alone cannot perpetuate itself. It can only do so through the women it marries from other clans. The important link is of son to mother, for while the father in whom sub-segments centre symbolizes their unity, it is through his wife or wives that he reproduces himself, and his corporate personality, so to speak, is differentiated in his sons. This occurs whatever the matrilineal linking of the sons. Can we assume that the shrines of the two full-brothers which are the foci of sub-segments are both "mothers' shrines"? From the whole analysis I think we can. In short, the monogamist with two sons also produces two lineages of lower order, i.e. two rooms in relation to his house. Is a maternal room believed to belong to the wife and not to the husband? If two full-brothers are married and live with their father, are their homes two rooms or one room?

In short it is only *through his wife* that a man is able to produce sons who found differentiated subordinate segments: in himself alone, he remains single and undifferentiated. Fortes himself begins this particular analysis by pointing out that each *house* contains "two sets of cleavages; firstly, a stratification by generations, and secondly, a differentiation by descent". It is the latter which splits subordinate segments and it is made possible by marriage, leading to a mother-son linkage. In a "mother's shrine" the progenitrix is identified with her son, not with her husband: and this applies even if she has two sons. Fortes is therefore wrong in the emphasis he gives his statement that patrilineality and matrilineality work as polar opposites. The situation is better subsumed in Evans-Pritchard's formulation for

the Nuer that "the social principle of agnatic descent is, by a kind of paradox, traced through the mother" (*Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, p. 64). A mother with several sons thus becomes multi-personal in their differentiation as against their father who is always uni-personal, the symbol of unity. Common maternal origin provides an additional link: maternal origin is always diverse in contradistinction to the eternal unity of paternal origin.

The polarity of father and mother, which undoubtedly occurs as described by Fortes, then arises from the inability of the patrilineal group, the corporate unit which endures in time, to reproduce itself without marriage to women of other clans. It is, so to speak, corporately procreative but physically sterile, and it has to acquire women to produce children for it. This is the function of marriage-payment (i.e. bride-wealth or bride-price). I believe this is the source of major conflict, and the reason why clanswomen form an undifferentiated group as against wives of clansmen, who are heritable only in the group and remain married to the dead man,¹ to maintain the order and span of segmentation. Women "are equal to one another in relation to their natal clan".

Clan-sisters and wives therefore act as united groupings at funerals, because this symbolizes the conflict rooted in their own position, as producing for another group than that to which they belong by birth: *mulier et origo et finis familiae est*. This formulation is validated by scattered references in the book to the relation of wives and the lineage. For example, the lineage-head's "functions are most conspicuous in relation to the wives and children of the lineage, for they stand for the greatest common interest of the lineage. It is the productive powers of the wives and the existence of children that secure the perpetuation of the lineage and the immortality of the ancestors" (p. 229). Therefore it is believed

¹ Evans-Pritchard first emphasized this most significant difference, between the levirate proper where the husband is still the dead man, and inherited-marriage which constitutes a *new* union. Leviratic marriage occurs in such widely separated societies as Nuer and Zulu, and, Dr. Fortes tells me, in essence occurred among the Tallensi.

that a woman who commits adultery exposes her husband and children to mystical dangers (among the Nuer the husband only, among the matrilineal Bemba the husband's adultery is dangerous for his wife). She has to enter the "ancestors' gateway". As wives are thus "a common interest of the lineage and clan". . . so "disputes in higher order lineages arise over inheritance of widows or marriage with a woman who was formerly the wife of a member of a different segment of the clan. Members of the deceased husband's medial lineage feel they have a prior claim to a widow's hand and sometimes object to her marrying a man of a different branch of the clan. And if a marriage is dissolved, no matter what the reason may be, it is regarded as a grave breach of clan solidarity for any other member of the husband's clan to take her to wife" (p. 246-7). The chief critical norms of clanship are connected with marriage: the ban on marriage within it, leviratic rights, the duty not to seduce or abduct a fellow's wife or marry his divorced wife. And "marriage transactions . . . are always relations between lineage units". It appears to me that Fortes might have given more weight to the positive aspect of the exogamic rule: for it implies that the right to marry each others' women is held by every lineage against every other non-related lineage. This rule is a source of linking and of friction between the different lineages.¹ Because of the frictions involved, marriages are forbidden during the Golib Festival which brings together the widest linked grouping of Tallensi, and not only to secure a truce in actual fighting (p. 243).

The same conflict is posed if we regard the situation of the woman in relation to her natal clan. "The concept of a [clanswoman] implicitly stresses the fact that it is a woman's fate to be married out of the clan and to be cut off from its routine corporate activity; and it contains the idea that a woman thus separated from her parental home is felt to belong primarily to the widest corporate unit that stands in contraposition

¹ Refer A. W. Hoernlé, "The Importance of the Sib in the Marriage Ceremonies of the South-Eastern Bantu", *South African Journal of Science*, 1928.

tion to her husband's where his relations with her are concerned", i.e. to the clan, which sets the limits of marriage bans. Clans are also the largest political units.

Thus marriage links together two exclusive agnatic segments, which are corporate units in the political field, and it is therefore also the source of conflict between them. On the rights to wives already married hinge ties and conflicts in intra-lineage relations. Is it *therefore* that wives, at least among the South-Eastern Bantu, are frequently charged with witchcraft? that men inherit witchcraft from the mother? that wives become capriciously evil spirits? that in their periods they threaten evil? that the Zulu conceive of dangerous forked lightning to be female, and harmless sheet lightning to be male? At the same time, they may be the source of good: ritually women are highly ambivalent. Men are evil only by choice.¹

We have returned here to a problem touched on earlier, and again I have to leave it without elaborating it more fully, but I cite finally a further suggestion from Fortes's analysis. "There is, in fact, a submerged feeling of rivalry in the relations between the men of the clan and the [clanswomen], deprived by an accident of birth² of effective jural and ritual membership of the clan." The oldest living clanswomen may never spend a night in the homestead of the head of the maximal lineage lest either or both of them die. She might have been head in his place had she been a man, and "her presence in the homestead which she might have occupied as a man is a hidden challenge and reproach both to the male head of the lineage and to the ancestors. It would be tantamount to a symbolic rejection of the fundamental principles of the lineage organization. For these reasons she cannot stay with the man who most conspicuously represents the extrusion of women from the full heritage of patrilineal descent."

I suggest that there is another strand in this conflict. The above taboo as Fortes says symbo-

lizes that the presence of that clanswoman would question the very principle of patrilineality itself, as a dominant value. The conflict is thus rooted in the affiliation of children, and affective sentiment about them. Fortes cites: "a newborn child is confined to its father's house for some time. When it is big enough to be allowed out of doors it must be ritually taken out for the first time by a [clanswoman of the father]. . . . The child's father consults a diviner to find out who will be a suitable [clanswoman]; for the rite is implicitly a blessing of the ancestors, and it is they who are believed to appoint a woman of the clan to carry their blessing to the child. It can be surmised that a [clanswoman] is chosen for this rite because she is by birth identified with the child's father and its lineage, and by sex identified with the child's mother and the function of motherhood." Perhaps there is another element present: the clanswoman symbolically asserts her rights to her children, who will belong to her husband's lineage.

This is how I see the structural problems: if they are correctly represented, they relate to psychical struggles in a manner I am not competent to assess.

IV. Clanship and Politico-ritual Relations

Let us return to the maximal lineage. It is not the ultimate largest unit of Tale society. Two to five contiguous maximal lineages are linked, sometimes by a theory of common descent, into a clan. These lineages recognize common rights and obligations which are the critical norms of clanship. They do not marry within the clan or marry women divorced by fellow-clansmen, they should not seduce or abduct each other's wives but they have leviratic rights over widows, they help each other at funerals, and in fights, and they may be raided by outsiders for each others' debts. They observe common totemic taboos.

The clan is on the whole locally defined, but the ties of clanship do not set out an organization of maximal lineages in absolute contraposition to a similar organization. Each maximal lineage may have clanship links with maximal

¹ See my "Zulu Woman in Hoeculture Ritual", *Bantu Studies*, September 1935.

² i.e. by being born as women.

lineages in adjacent clans. These links are also defined by the critical norms of clanship. Not every lineage in each clan has links with the same lineages in other clans. Each maximal lineage has a specific field of clanship, which is particular to itself and only part of which is shared with other maximal lineages: there is overlapping but not congruence. In this manner the ties of clanship run across the country in a complex series of overlapping zones. Fortes calls the lineages which link two clans, intercalary lineages.

The overlap is even more extensive. If a maximal lineage A in a clan of A+B+C lineages has clan links with a lineage X in a clan of X+Y+Z lineages, then B and C, and Y and Z, which are not clan-brothers by the critical norms, call each other "brothers-by-courtesy". One of the lineages in X+Y+Z may have clan-links with a lineage in clan P+Q+R, none of the lineages of which have clan-links with A+B+C. Then P+Q+R lie on the borders of A+B+C's zone of clanship. They are friends of A+B+C's friends (X+Y+Z), but are also possible enemies since they are friends of A+B+C's enemies, lineages lying beyond. In terms of Radcliffe-Brown's hypothesis, this conflict is expressed in a joking relationship of privileged aggression. Among the Talis, but not the Namoos, in addition pairs of clans or lineages "on the margin of the field of clanship of each, but not joking partners, have the privilege of moral coercion over each other's members. . . . No member of one group may refuse a member a request of any member of the other", and this injunction has drastic ritual sanctions. They are very chary of making requests to each other, but if a man is so distressed that he is prostrated with grief, he will rouse himself if requested by a man in one of these linked clans.

This summary does scant justice to the complexity of the organization which Fortes had to unravel; it does not even begin to do justice to the significant weight of his analysis. This is essentially based on the principle that segments emerge in action in contraposition to like segments, and that there is latent opposition across cleavages, balanced by ties which cross them. Every time

there is a dispute or clash across a cleavage, the mechanism of clan-linkages swings related segments to aid their linked groups. But the ties of integration, through enjoined ritual collaboration of the clans and their component lineages, require a restoration of the *status quo*. Since all groups and individuals accept a single set of values, and there are no irresolvable conflicts in the stagnant undifferentiated economy, struggles for power etc. take place within the existent structure. "Tallensi place an extremely high value on their social order. An individual or a particular corporate group might desire to alter his or its position in the society. A clan might strive to assert its supremacy over other clans, whether or not it is entitled to do so. No one would dream of trying to overthrow the whole social order or of agitating against the existing customs and values." To repudiate membership of the larger unit, would be "tantamount to repudiating the ancestors". If norms "are infringed, as invariably happens now and then, they are not thereby invalidated. The infringement tends to provoke processes which cancel out its effects and either re-establish the invulnerability of the norms or bring about a new alinement of structural ties, which neutralizes the breach." These processes make possible an equilibrium in which "every tie between corporate units is counterbalanced by cleavages between them, all loyalties between corporate units are kept within bounds by loyalties towards other units, and all common interests are set off by divergent interests".

The dominant cleavage is that between immigrant Namoos and autochthonous Talis (non-Namoos) who include some immigrants. They are contraposed by locality, kinship corporateness, and ritual symbols with strong emotional values. Here also ties of personal kinship and of ritual collaboration cross the cleavage, and there are intercalary lineages, related mythologically to both sides, which have traditional roles as peace-makers. The Tallensi did not go to war for economic gain and could not conquer land, and, though they admired warriors, killing even in war, shedding blood on the earth, brought mystical retribution. "Wars" between segments,

which were a kind of civil war, flared up over trifling disputes. When they occurred between segments across the dominant cleavage, they pivoted the whole alignment of Namoos vs. non-Namoos into action. After a few days of skirmishing controlled and limited by "rules of war", the peacemaking lineages initiated ritual reconciliation and integration was re-emphasized. The ties of ritual collaboration between clans demanded that different segments, even across the dominant cleavage, cooperate for the good of the whole community and their own section of it.¹ People can sacrifice together only in amity, even though at ceremonies they show the tensions arising from their opposition in privileged teasing.

Tallensi society is demarcated from the dominant cleavage as a region of overlapping clanship zones centring in it. But Fortes shows that the clanship ties lead far beyond the borders of Taleland to the Gorisi, Namnam, etc. However, it seems implicit that clans at the centre of Taleland are not themselves structurally part of these ultimate extensions of the chain, though they exist objectively and the Tale are aware of them. Thus, "by these chains of clanship ties the Talis are linked on to peoples outside Taleland who live quite beyond the boundaries of their regular interests and concerns". Fortes in describing "wars" shows that these were too brief to swing more than a few clans into action. The range of impact of the dominant cleavage is therefore limited, though the nexus of ties is "unlimited". I consider that Fortes should have indicated whether there are other similar dominant cleavages beyond—even if there are none. He himself constantly implies a limitation of the range of this one, by writing of "geographical centre", "frontiers", "the index of the festivals", etc. (see pages 17, 19, 28, 60, 92, 119–20, 159). If there are other dominant cleavages, then they with their ranges of impact afford objective criteria by which Tallensi can be distinguished from other similarly constituted societies. Then

the lineages which are structurally "midway" between the dominant cleavages could serve as "borders". They would be effectively in the range of both cleavages. Fortes' failure to discuss this, even if it be for lack of detailed data, is an omission, though I gather it is because he lacks data on the neighbouring tribes. If there are no other dominant cleavages, what is there away from the Tong Hills?

We see then that the political system of clanship ties in one sense differs relatively to each maximal lineage, though there is a degree of absoluteness about the major cleavage which is "the coping-stone of the whole complex system of differentiation and integration of corporate units". The cleavage achieves this by breaking the clanship nexus: despite the contiguity of Namoos and non-Namoos, they have only three intercalary lineages tying the two communities. Two of these are traditional peacemakers. Of one, Gbizug, we are told: "it stands aloof in their disputes, taking neither side, for it belongs equally to both and wholly to neither". Across the cleavage in the clanship ties, which denotes the political area, resides integration in the ritual collaboration of Chiefs of the Namoos and Talis Custodians of the Earth.

Does not this analysis of a reticulated system of overlapping zones of corporate ties pose for hierarchical states similar problems which tend to be obscured by the administrative framework? Do ties between corporate units within, e.g. the Zulu state, link some units in opposition to others and to the state? Does some such process operate through the alignments of parties in civil wars? I have shown¹ that the Zulu provinces stood autonomously against the state and on occasion fought against it, and that the provinces were hostile to each other, just as Fortes has demonstrated that a minor lineage stands in contraposition both to its coordinate lineages and to the superordinate lineage which includes them all. The further analysis of alignments I have yet to attempt. For as among the Tallensi (see below),

¹ As I read these ties, there is a mistake in the red lines of the diagram facing page 108. In the left-hand corner the red line linking Kpataar B and Bunkiuk B is a link in the cult of the External Ancestral-shrine and should be dotted, not continuous.

¹ "Kingdom of the Zulu of South-East Africa" in *African Political Systems* and article in *Bantu Studies*, June 1940.

so among the Zulu there was a twofold division. The Zulu were divided into provinces, territorial sections, under chiefs to whom they owed loyalty, and also into military divisions attached to particular princes. The overlapping of these two sets of corporate units sets problems of the type analysed by Fortes. Unfortunately, it is too late to examine these for the nation, but they might be examined within the provinces, which now are "independent tribes". These again are divided on two bases: purely territorial, and by attachment to chiefly villages. I may mention here that since the Zulu War the Zulu nation has been cleft into two major divisions: and that at one point on the cleavage there is a small sub-district with acts almost as intercalary lineages do among the Tallensi.

V. Ritual, the Social Structure, and the Earth

Fortes advances notably the analysis of ritual which is associated with Durkheim's school and Radcliffe-Brown. I can only introduce a very brief summary of his thesis by quoting verbatim his compressed introduction on the *Underlying Principles of Ritual Collaboration*.

"Maximal lineages are the smallest corporate units that emerge in political action. The social and political relations between maximal lineages are regulated by ties of clanship. These ties constitute fields of social relations in which larger corporate units, which we have called clans, emerge. These are the largest corporate units that act in corporate matters. At the level of social and political relations between clans—that is to say, where the fields of social relations, constituted by clanship ties, overlap one another—clanship ties no longer suffice as the organizing mechanism. Here we meet with the interaction of more complex units and regions of Tale social structure than the maximal lineage. The social interests in response to which these interactions occur are more complex and more diffuse than those that are served by clanship. Consequently, an organizing mechanism of a different order comes into play, the mechanism of ritual.

"Ritual is the appropriate mechanism of social organization at this level because the interests

involved are not of a practical or utilitarian kind but of a moral kind—in fact, the most general moral interests of the natives, the maintenance of their existing institutions and norms of social behaviour. We must emphasize that we are dealing here with levels of organization correlated with different grades of social interests, and not with hard-and-fast forms of social grouping. We are dealing with different expressions of the same forces. The same categories of ritual values and forms of association serve as a differentiating and integrating mechanism both at the level of social relations between maximal lineages and at the level of interclan relations. And clanship forms the bridge between the two levels as well as the organizing factor at the lower level. Both factors operate at both levels but with inverse dominance. That this is so can be seen from the natives' habit of conceptually assimilating all their social ties to the pattern of genealogical relationship and evaluating them all by the touchstone of kinship. The basic pattern of organization is that which we have described in our analysis of the clan system.

"The ritual configurations and connections at the higher level are obviously modelled on clanship configurations and connexions. The reason for this is simply that the ritual relations we are here concerned with exist between corporate units, maximal lineages or clans, defined by the canon of agnatic descent and by their place in the whole field of clanship.

"We can say then that a Talis clan has a field of ritual relations overlapping but not congruent with its field of kinship ties. The fields of ritual relations of adjacent clans are articulated with one another so as to form a connected system linking all Talis to one another. It is through this system that the major cleavage between the Talis and their congeners on the one hand, and the Namoos on the other, is transcended; and the cycle of the Great Festivals is the medium through which this ritual system is regularly, obligatorily, and conspicuously brought into action." Their roles in the Great Festivals differentiate Namoos, Talis, and the non-Namoos who are not Talis, but as they must collaborate to

perform the Festivals, these integrate Tale society in a common dependence on mystical powers the good things of life.¹

The good things of life for the Tallensi are plentiful crops, many children, and a peaceful and ordered society. These are common interests for all Tallensi. But individuals and particular groups achieve them on their own land, out of their own lives, and by fulfilling their own obligations and asserting their own rights. In doing this, they become involved in marriage disputes, quarrels over slain game, etc. Therefore the common interests give rise to divergent interests—these two aspects, the particular utilitarian and the common values, interpenetrate in every Tale activity. The first aspect is reflected in the secular economic and social organization, the second in the organization of moral norms and religious imperatives.²

Three things are made centres of ritual in Tale thought. The Earth, on which men dwell and make their living, has an utilitarian aspect in which particular men and groups work particular pieces of earth; it has also a mystical aspect which is undivided as the ultimate source of men's prosperity. In this aspect the Earth is "tended on" by the Talis Custodians of the Earth at special shrines, which are centres of undemarcated areas. Thus though the Custodianship of the Earth is distributed between heads of Talis lineages, the Earth itself remains undivided, and Custodians collaborate in the ritual nexus.

But the Earth is lived on by men who use land in terms of their membership of lineages. The whole concept of a lineage depends on the ancestors who founded it and who established Tale culture. No one can contract out of membership of a lineage: he is born irretrievably into it. By that membership he gets right in land, enters into social relationships, inherits totemic avoidances, acquires culture itself, and the sentiments

on which it is based are formed in the family itself. Here arises "the crucial function of the ancestor cult as the ideology around which lineage relations are organized". Lineage solidarity has not only great practical utility as reflecting the social bonds, which give a Tallensi his place in society. It is rooted in the deepest moral values of the culture, kinship, which is binding in its own right, and it exists in the ancestor cult as "the objective embodiment of social conscience". These values are beyond question and they are mystically sanctioned. Breach of the rules precipitates not only material disaster, but may so overwhelm a man that his line itself becomes extinct. The ancestor-cult is therefore far more than a mnemonic of lineage relationships. *Ancestorship* as such has mystical value. This is reflected in the Talis cult of the External Ancestor-shrine, which, like the Earth-shrines, is distributed among different lineages linked in ritual collaboration. The congregations of Earth-shrines and External Ancestor-shrines overlap neither with fields of clanship nor with one another. In practice, Fortes shows that every maximal lineage is a bridge between an Earth congregation and an External Ancestor-shrine congregation. Since a linked lineage "represents its whole field of clanship in its corporate ritual relationship", we see that ritual ties counter-balance potentially conflicting clanship ties. Ritual bonds however are not dependent on clanship ties; the two systems "are interlocked but not congruent": they operate by counter-balancing each other.

Ancestor-cult and Earth-cult thus represent separate sets of values in Tallensi life, but their ideologies inter-penetrate one another. Fortes demonstrates, for example, how the affective attachment of Tallensi to their localities is woven into the ancestor-cult which symbolizes the values of many systems: of the corporate lineage, of the web of kinship, of locality, of economic prosperity, and even of the individuals' fortune which is reflected in the third centre of Tallensi mystical thought, *Yin*, personal destiny. Nevertheless, the ideologies are distinct. The External Ancestor "is more precisely a symbol of the

¹ See Fortes' "Ritual Festivals and Social Cohesion in the Hinterland of the Gold Coast", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 38, No. 4.

² This hypothesis to explain why mystical values attach to the units of social organization was put forward by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard in their *Introduction to African Political Systems*, op. cit. Fortes here expounds it in greater detail.

continuity and perpetuity of the clan and its constituent lineages. . . . The Earth, on the other hand, though its cult is also intrinsically bound up with the agnatic line, stands rather for the common interests and common values embodied in the customary norms and sanctions of collective life." Therefore Fortes calls the two types of shrines "polar principles of a single religious system". When clan ritual is performed at one, it is also performed at the other.

In accordance with the segmentary social organization, the equilibrium maintained by ritual collaboration is rooted in the lateral dispersal of shrines among lineages. In both cults, private shrines identify the autonomy of segments apart from the many congregations to which they belong. Fortes has the first clear analysis of the extent to which the ancestor-cult is an index and focus of differentiation as well as of cohesion. Each ceremony, such as a funeral or installation of lineage head, crystallizes social relations through the principle by which each corporate unit in a particular structural context must be represented to aid its linked units. One of Fortes' most important contributions is to show for the Tallensi at least, that there are two types of kinsmen present at a sacrifice: (1) representatives as such of the constituent, coordinate and linked lineages of the sacrificing segment; and (2) men drawn by special ties, cognatic and affinal. Other accounts which I know have described the attendants as if they were all drawn by personal, not corporate, ties. Fortes mentions an incident in which a man in joking relationship with the sacrificing lineage "stole" sacrificed meat by privilege. Does this at last enable us to understand Junod's recording in his classic, that in distant Thongaland the uterine nephews or grandsons, "darlings of the gods", regularly interrupted prayers and stole the sacrifice?

There is an undercurrent of tension in every clan and lineage arising from its segmentary structure. This breaks out in conflicts, but in the long run lineage solidarity prevails. It does so because if men are to prosper they must be in *right* relationship with their ancestors, and to achieve this they must sacrifice to them

with representatives of other segments in their fields of lineageship, clanship, and political order. Thus these distinctions raise and reconcile intra- and inter-lineage conflicts. The ancestors, like public opinion, are always on the side of "corporateness". Ritual is not to control nature, but to establish a good relationship with mystical powers, and this is effected through a recognition of the common interests of linked groups in an ordered social structure, in the observance of jural rules, and in the maintenance of peace, which between them make possible the continuity of agnatic line.

Corporate links are reaffirmed because people must act as if they were in amity, since they have to collaborate with contraposed segments in burying their dead, installing their leaders, and so on. Ritual offices are dispersed among the segments. Across the major cleavage, Namoos and non-Namoos must collaborate ritually for the good of all and each. The integration of the society is thus achieved at a higher level, but again by a lateral dispersion of interdependent offices vested in contraposed segments, within overlapping fields of clanship.

This is not the total of Fortes' analysis. He states: "though religion springs directly out of the social structure, it is fed by streams whose sources lie beneath and beyond the social structure". I cannot here set out this part of his analysis, but draw attention by reference to a new contribution to the study of totemism. Tallensi is "a single culture with sectional particularism". Namoos and non-Namoos have distinctive customs and totems, and there are totems of clans and External Ancestor congregations. There are Earth taboos of animals. Fortes says "the common thread is the notion of the ancestors as a living mystical force, symbolized in living creatures". In totem avoidance, the emphasis is on the "notion of moral obligation . . . directed . . . to the ancestors and not to the totem animal in its own right". Those who avoid a totem animal, will sell it to others who eat it. In a suggestive sketched hypothesis, Fortes vividly describes how relations between ancestors and men reflect a constant struggle: so the ancestors are frequently symbo-

lized by animals whose teeth are symbols of aggression. The totemic taboo is simple and unquestioned: it images for the individual his own private membership of the lineage. As such, it is the moral imperative of lineage membership itself.

This summary cannot begin to show the skill with which Fortes has analyzed the network of ritual ties and cleavages and expounds his thesis of ritual values. Always his argument is rooted in observation, and he postulates no supposed undifferentiated emotion. This part of the book alone gives it great merit: we must await impatiently his full study of the Ancestor-cult and the Cult of the Earth. His greatest achievement here, perhaps, is to demonstrate the integrative value of ritual without false personification and without once importing a teleological phrase. One weakness is, there is no summary of the distinctive rituals of Namoos and non-Namoos in relation to their structures.¹

VI. The Form of Society

Fortes' analysis of Tale society is couched in terms which are being used increasingly in sociology. He defines Tale society "as a socio-geographic region, the social elements of which are more closely knit together among themselves than any of them are knit together with social elements outside that region. We must substitute a relative and dynamic concept for an absolute and static one." Fortes explicitly uses this concept to demarcate Tallensi society from the surrounding socio-geographic region as an area of interlinked ties of clanship and ritual collaboration ultimately balanced about the major cleavage between Namoos and non-Namoos. This cleavage also is crossed by ties of politico-ritual collaboration.

A more complex conception of social structure is implicit in his total analysis. He states that the aim of the book is a descriptive analysis of Tale social structure at the level of corporate

group organization, since this is the framework of the political system. But he does more than describe a socio-geographic region in terms of "zones of clanship [relationship between maximal lineages] of increasing amplitude and diminishing importance". This is only the framework of the structure: it is set for all time in a society whose "history is not a progression but a continuity". In theory,¹ there can be no splitting of maximal lineages and the names of lineage founders persist forever. Fission of the minor segments does not alter the equilibrium of the major segments. The lineage framework and the land, as we have seen, are the enduring principles of Tale society.

But Tale society consists in far more than these principles. There are very many different categories of social relations. A total field of social relations consists of interpenetrating systems of different-categories of social relations: ecological, economic, territorial, lineage-clan (corporate-group kinship), inter-personal kinship, domestic, political, ritual, etc. These different systems are interlocked with one another in a series of cleavages and ties. For example, "a settlement is only a relatively autonomous community. One might perhaps define it as the region of maximum overlap of all the categories of social relations found among the Tallensi". Lineage relations and relations of groups to land make stability and continuity essential characteristics of a settlement, whose borders—the "social circumference"—are fixed by social relations. Neighbourhood ties are *ipso facto* lineage ties, and therefore economic, religious, jural and moral ties. Among the Tallensi spatial and social affiliation coincide, so that "a man's central field of social relationships is integral with his central field of spatial relationship". Within this field, for example, I think we can deduce from Fortes' remarks on land tenure, there is an overlap of lineage ties and the web of kinship on patrimonial land.

Territorial segmentation is a function of lineage segmentation and clanship ties are a function of local ties. But the two systems are

¹ Namoos bury each individual in his 'gateway', non-Namoos bury in 'cemeteries'. The Namoos sacrifice separately at each grave to show links with the chiefship, the Talis forget these separate graves and sacrifice to all ancestors, for all men have the same ritual bonds with the Earth.

¹ In practice clanship ties do change within the pattern (see pp. 40, 43-4, 84-5).

coincident. Territorial sections of their own autonomy have a competitive orientation to each other. Possibly therefore in Tongo, though the undifferentiated section Kuoreg is coordinate with a segment divided into three sub-segments, it is forced to the level of the sub-segments because it is small in numbers.

The high consistence between these categories of Tallensi systems is possible, Fortes suggests, because "economic factors are neutral". It is a non-competitive, little differentiated, self-sufficient, stationary, subsistence economy, and therefore does not produce ties and cleavages cutting across those established by genealogical, local and ritual principles. Environment is a fundamental part of Tale social space and the utilitarian and economic elements are fundamental to all relations. But they do not differentiate social groupings on a basis of inequality: it is an honour for one lineage to give land to another which has surpassed it in numbers. In this egalitarian system, all social ties tend to be assimilated to clanship. Though ritual ties and clanship ties themselves are interlocked, they reinforce each by counterbalancing each other. Nevertheless, both can be translated into a genealogical idiom.

Thus if the social structure consists of interpenetrating systems, a group or social personality may occupy positions in each of these systems. In the Tallensi settlement, the region of maximum overlap, all males occupy similar positions *relative to one another* in all the systems (lineage, territorial, economic, etc.). This is my explication of what Fortes means by "maximum overlap". It gives Tale society its high degree of homogeneity despite the great complexity of social ties. This conception of social structure to some extent justifies Fortes' unorthodox conception of "clanship". In the past, a clan has usually been defined as a group of people linked by putative unilateral descent. Fortes here applies the term maximal lineage to groups defined thus, and he uses "clanship" to denote a category of relations between lineages and their members. Clanship is distinguished by certain critical norms such as the rule of exogamy and the levirate rights which frequently inhere in clans

throughout the world. He thus in effect adds a new term to our vocabulary.

The structure of Tale society is therefore a product of tensions between corporate units in a system of balanced ties and cleavages. Ties and cleavages may reside in different units in the variant systems (clanship, ritual, etc.), but are so ordered that there are both "regions of high tension where groups are coupled in polar opposition, and regions of low tension where the units of structure are articulated in complementary relations to one another". Tie balances cleavage because these are inherent aspects of all social relations. As Evans-Pritchard put it, fission and fusion are complementary aspects of one another. These are basic principles in Freudian ambivalence and in dialectics. Thus in Taleland, the major cleavage is most marked where there are clanship ties across it, i.e. fission is most marked where fusion on the political plane is greatest. Similarly, in the new struggle for European goods and power, rivalry is most acute between clans with close social ties. On the other hand, where some Hill Talis are exploiting their shrines to get money from pilgrims all over the Colony, the Namoos regard the money as "tainted". "In this matter Namoos and Talis have not got a sphere of common interest in which they might be rivals." As the Tallensi themselves see nearness of relationship as well as distance excludes a joking relationship: teasing cuts too near the bone.

It is this principle which lies behind the dynamics of Tallensi clanship. It is the basis of the relative nomenclature of groups and of lineage differentiation. More than this, it is this principle which enables groups to emerge in action, in which they pull corresponding units into action. Specific activities in the round of men's lives—the course from life to death, making a living, coping with misfortune and celebrating good luck—become social events mobilizing certain social relations and groups. Tallensi society is so homogeneous that these temporary associations recur in many events. But Tallensi society as a whole is a synthesis that emerges chiefly in the context of the Great Festivals.

Once again we must repeat, the enduring framework in these variant structural contexts is the lineage system. This is also true of Nuer society. Evans-Pritchard there, in a less detailed analysis, showed that the Nuer ecological, lineage, territorial and political systems, have a high and associated consistence. I have quoted him as saying that in the lineages "the dynamic social process is . . . slowed down and is stabilized into structure". I have suggested that in African states a similar frame is provided by the administrative organization, which, despite its autonomous element, is a system of ties between segments of the state. The framework itself alters constantly as the differentiation in each system sets up movements in all the interpenetrating systems. But in primitive society the framework retains its form. The activities which produce differentiation set in train recurrent processes which restore the previous alignments, or create new ones within a similar structural context. A rebellion against a bad chief installs his kinsman as chief.

However, it is too simple to conclude as Richards does that the Bantu state has developed out of the kinship group, is in a sense the kinship group writ large.¹ I doubt if this could be historically validated in a single instance. The ruler-subject relationship is indeed often described in the kinship idiom of the people—it is even with us—and in the stagnant economy of pre-European Africa, the ruler-subject relationship had values like those of kinship. But even among the Tallensi there is a point where the systems of social relations abruptly change their character: kinship ties are insufficient, and ties are of a new type, politico-ritual.

It seems to me that Fortes' analysis offers a new method for posing the whole series of problems involved in the incorporation of kinship units within a state administrative apparatus. For example, in describing the Zulu political pyramid² I suggested that there was a change in the sanctions operating at the different levels of political organization. Force decreases in relative importance as a sanction when one

considers allegiance to king, to district head, to village-head, to family-head, respectively. The power of the ancestors increases. Though the king invokes his ancestors for national good in the first fruits ceremonies, he has to be magically protected against any subject who may transgress his rights to eat first. The transgressor is not threatened by the king's ancestors, but, if caught, is punished secularly. The transgressor against the kin-head's prior rights is punishable by the ancestors. Again primary rights to land are conferred by membership of nation and district, but the actual land a man gets largely depends on his bonds within the family and patrilineal group. Here other positive bonds, with their negative sanctions, become important: a man on the whole depends on his kin, and not on his chief, for help in working his gardens and caring for his herds, in acquiring bride-wealth and rearing children, in debt and dispute. This is descriptive generalization on the institutional level. I suggest that a reformulation in Fortes' terms will enable us to pose the problems in a form allowing further analysis, and above all comparative analysis—even with the segmentary societies.

If we pose the problem I have described above in these terms, we get a far more fruitful analysis. Then the system of domestic relations becomes a separate one, though it is one into which effects from the political system will intrude. But domestic relations operate by processes peculiar to themselves. One of the most important conclusions that emerges is that there is a radical distinction between kinship as such, in which the web of relationships is peculiar to every individual, and the organization of corporate groups on a kinship-linkage. Fortes emphasizes the difference in separating his studies of *The Dynamics of Clanship* and *The Web of Kinship* (which is to be the second half of his study of Tallensi social structure). Above we have seen that these two systems overlap in the inner lineage, where "the members have differentiated person to person relations . . . as well as corporate lineage relations". Similarly, Evans-Pritchard made separate analyses of the corporate kin-

¹ See *African Political Systems*, p. 83.

² See *African Political Systems*, p. 39.

group relations of the Nuer (in his *The Nuer*) and of the domestic relations (*Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*).¹ He showed in the latter that great instability in domestic groupings such as the family existed side-by-side with social stability, which inhered in the continuity of lineage-groups as the cores of territorial segments. Forde made a similar distinction in his *Marriage and the Family among the Yako*. Then the operation of different movements in these different spheres implies that I formulated a false problem: for the sanctions in a group with the time-continuity of the Zulu state must inevitably be different from those in such a temporary organization as the family. I could describe the difference, but not proceed beyond using it to define the difference between political and domestic relations. The problems rather are: the sphere of domestic relations reveals certain processes; how far aware these recurrent, how do they alter the constitution of particular domestic groupings, how do cleavages and ties interact in the history of the groupings—and hence, how are domestic relations sanctioned. On the other hand: the sphere of political relations reveals certain other processes; how far are these recurrent, how do these alter the constitution of particular political groupings, how do cleavages and ties interact in the history of these groupings—and hence, how are political relations sanctioned. The two sets of sanctions can be described to differentiate political and domestic relations: but I repeat, they are different by assumed definition. Analytically, in this form they are incommensurable. What we may find is that there are identical, or similar, or different, types of movement in each system: these we can compare.

But the omnipresence of both domestic and political systems in all societies has been demonstrated. Then we have a further set of problems involved in the interaction of the processes of both systems. For example, I am working

at the moment on an hypothesis that the divorce rate is higher in societies with matrilineal and bilateral kin-groups than in those with patrilineal kin-groups. Assuming this to be factually true, we must interrelate movements in the domestic sphere with movements in the political and kin-group sphere. I must point out that this set of problems is entirely different from the intrusion of political action into domestic relations in any actual society. For example, a Zulu father can get the chief to take forceful action against a son who breaks certain laws of domestic relations. So that though the father does not himself use forces, as in the Roman *jus vitae necisque*, force becomes a sanction in the domestic group.

There is implicit above a very important methodological principle: namely, that we can never compare with one another the complex sets of behaviour which constitute cultural realities in either a single society or a range of societies. They are too overlaid with reality. I find a very striking significance in the two types of comparison made in Fortes and Evans-Pritchard's comparative *Introduction to African Political Systems*. Whenever they compare societies on the basis of real differences, nothing emerges. Take their distinction between states and stateless societies. They test correlations of the distinction with phenomena such as mode of habitation, demography, and mode of livelihood. The results are negative; and necessarily so, because these are such complicated institutions that they do not bear comparison. It is even difficult to fit them into categories. The Zulu, Tswana, Ankole, Kavirondo, and Nuer are grouped as pastoral-agriculturists. But their whole ecological setting, the distribution of their settlements, their division of labour, etc. are interwoven into incommensurable complexes.

On the other hand, they did obtain significant results when they compared "social processes",¹ movements in the societies in time-space. For example, they showed that states' histories are marked by periodic civil wars which resulted in

¹ Cf. Richards criticized Evans-Pritchard's *The Nuer* because he "arbitrarily" excluded all groupings below the village, specifically relations between families in the village, from his analysis: "A Problem of Anthropological Approach", *Bantu Studies*, March 1941.

¹ See their *Introduction* at p. 3, where they themselves assert this. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown made this point in his *The Andaman Islanders*, p. 230.

changes of the personnel holding offices but not in the institutional character of offices. They related this to the simple non-accumulating economy, itself a type of process, and to territorial segmentation of the society, another type of process. Again, they argued that in the stateless societies there is a general tendency for a centralized organization to emerge under European occupation. Among the Nuer, this showed in the appearance of prophets who led the temporarily united Nuer tribes against the white man. Is this not a similar process to the rebirth of Zulu nationalism, including tribes which in the 1879-80 War fought for the British against the Zulu king? And passing outside the tribes covered by that book, is it not similar to the unions of Transkeian tribes which followed the prophets Makana and Nongqause?

My suggestion is that if we are to develop as a comparative science we must abandon attempts to work with real units, and attempt to deal with abstract process—i.e. with social movements. Van Gennep's concept of *rites de passage* is the most striking example of how universally this type of formulation can be applied, and of how fruitful it can be. If we can isolate movements of this type, then we can in any one social field attempt to analyse the interaction of different types of movements, as well as compare the types of movement in one social field with those in another. For example, we might take three principles: territorial segmentation, rebellions in a non-changing or repetitive polity, type of succession to the chieftainship. If we work these out in their interaction in a series of fields we might get profitable general conclusions. We might not, it is true. But I argue that it is impossible to compare:

- (a) the Bemba, shifting cultivators with an undifferentiated economy, scattered villages, a ritual military kingship, matrilineal;
- (b) the Nupe, peasants and courtiers, a differentiated economy, a "feudal" political structure, patrilineal;
- (c) the Zulu, pastoral-agriculturists, a military kingship, patrilineal.

On the other hand it is possible to see that:

- (i) the Bemba matrilineal system of succession contains contradictory rules that inevitably, after a while, produce rival claimants to the throne;
- (ii) the Nupe system of succession makes the Emirate rotate through three dynasties of the royal house, so that there are rival sections about the throne;
- (iii) the Zulu system of patrilineal succession, in which the heir is chosen by his mother's status, which in turn is uncertain, also produces rival claimants.

I could extend this list indefinitely. Thus in most African states we find that there is a recurrent process by which there emerge rivals in every succession. How does this process interact with the processes of territorial division, of the struggle of people against harsh rulers, of population expansion and migration to new land? Here is comparability.

VII. Conclusion

There is a wide variety of analyses woven into Fortes' book which I have not been able even to touch upon. It is difficult reading—partly, and here I think Fortes is at fault, because of the number of Tale terms used. The argument is packed and so integrated that it seems repetitive. This it is not; the same points recur in different contexts and the basic theses have to be recapitulated. What appears to be detail of fact is really analysis. The book is difficult to read partly because Fortes' style is probably not easy. But he is coping with major difficulties, for he is moving on a plane of analysis deeper than usual in social anthropological literature. Periodic summaries of the development of the argument would have eased his task, and the reader's.

The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi is one of the most important books in our literature. It must be read and read again.

MYSTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF COLOURS AMONG THE NATIVES OF MADAGASCAR.

Dr. A. LEIB

Every European who comes in contact with the Malagasy notices that they have innumerable expressions to designate colour yet they seem incapable of correctly naming even the primary colours. At first sight it might appear that, like little children, the primitive's sense of observation and memory is incompletely developed, but the real cause lies, in a perception different from ours. We agree with Levy-Bruhl who points out that the primitive sees in the same way as we do but not with the same mind. His mentality is fundamentally mystical which is the cause of his collective ideas.

Very frequently the Malagasy uses pictorial expressions for colours which he designates as "colours of objects", e.g. names of metals: copper-colour which is not used for animals but as a rule only for human hair.

The Native is partial to colour terms derived from the animal world, as "black colour of the ox" for the shiny black of materials. "Colour of a dead grass-hopper"—for the paleness of a sick man. "Colour of ants", "colour of a wild cat", "colour of duck-dung", etc.

To emphasize his fortitude of character the Native says: "I am not a chameleon that changes its colour". For clothes that have a whitish, but not pure white colour, the Malagasy says "pounded red-rice colour", which refers to that rice which does not become quite white in spite of long pounding. Sometimes one comes across colour terms for cattle derived from plants which grow only in a limited district on the west-coast. Some scholars have concluded from this that the first cattle were introduced by Arabs or Europeans into this area and from there migrated to other parts of the island.

Black

In the north-west the Natives lay four black stones around the grave of their relatives. These

stones represent the power of the dead, whilst the number indicates the gods of the four cardinal points. Black has, however, not always been the colour of death among the Malagasy. They used to wear blue as a colour of mourning—blue bands, blue necklaces and hats and this is still customary in some parts. Among the Sakalava blue is the colour of mourning. Queens of this tribe were forbidden to wear blue clothes as such were reserved for the dead. Only through European influence have the Natives come to use black for mourning. The expression, "black soot", implies an honourable person who has long served the state as soldier or official. The European missionary who has worked many years among the Natives is also given this title. The origin of the expression is interesting. In the absence of a chimney the ceiling of a native hut becomes black with soot from the hearth if the inmate has dwelt long enough there. In the country this lengthy sojourn seldom occurs. Fear of evil spirits, avoidance of tax collectors, and other secret reasons, cause the Malagasy to change his abode frequently. Anyone living long in a hut is therefore looked upon as a steady character. For his mysterious acts the sorcerer uses a black cloth.

A native proverb indicates the twisted, secretive idea associated with black,—“Man is like a black bottle, one cannot see what is inside”.

The Malagasy call a person found guilty through the judgement of the gods “the black one”, that is: he who is marked with the stain of a thief or a murderer. Dr. M. Davidson in his article on an epidemic of hysteria mentions that those who were affected by the dance mania showed great dislike of black. He finds the cause in the then customary disdain of European priests in their black cassocks.

Children born in August are symbols of evil fortune. Whilst they may remain healthy, their families will sicken and die. Sometimes, such a

new-born baby is placed in front of the entrance to a cattle pen. If it escapes alive from the herd that tramples over it whilst leaving for the fields, it is allowed to live, but is known as "the black one" and feared greatly. *Black cattle, sheep and fowls are offered as expiatory sacrifices to the spirits, the underlying thought being—to the dark, secret, supernatural powers an animal coloured black!*

Thieves wear black amulets hoping to be protected from the eye of the law. *Generally black is associated by the Malagasy with the idea of inferior, unpleasant and evil.* Referring to a worthless gift, the Native speaks of "a black basket". Slaves, who under the Hova regime were usually imported from Africa, were called "the Blacks" and their children had to wear strings of black heads whilst those of free parents could wear any colour they liked.

Black is used as a synonym for "suspicious." A proverb says: "Do not judge by the outward appearance but examine each case, for the dog with a black nose has been sniffing in the oven".

As black articles are connected mystically with evil spirits, the guardians of good idols must avoid eating off black plates, must see that black dogs do not run across their paths and are forbidden to keep black fowls in their hamlets. For a strong antipathy the Malagasy says: "I hate the dark. I hate the black!" This expression was often used by Natives whom I asked what they thought about World War II. To sum up, we can say: Black as a colour of mourning was introduced by the Europeans in recent years. The Native never describes a pleasant, agreeable happening with expressions that use black as metaphor. More likely, he will describe disagreeable and undesirable experiences, such as suspicion, false witness, theft and guilt, in terms that use black as a symbol.

White

Very frequently, white is the symbol of light, hope, joy. It may be that it is so highly estimated by the Malagasy because of the great store set on the white rice as food. "The great joy

occasioned by white rice", says a common proverb, "causes one to forget the few bad grains it contains". Another factor causing this love of white may have been the piastre-silver coin in use for years . . . silver is called "white money". Among the dominant tribe of the Hova the free man is called "the White". They are proud of their light colouring.

In a folk-song dealing with the purchase of a bride, one finds: "If she mounts a heap of dung she looks like the daughter of a god. If she stands on white earth, she resembles the daughter of the White man."

"White days", in the belief of the Malagasy, are days of hope when it is most probable that lost or stolen articles or animals will be recovered. They refuse to search for their animals on any other days than those white ones recommended by the sorcerer.

White is the symbol of purity in the ritual sense, due to the impression it gives of light and transparency. Again and again white articles are used at purification and expiatory ceremonies. White earth plays a prominent part in Malagasy rites. If a Native breaks a taboo e.g. not to look at cattle whilst drinking rice-water, his wife quickly brings him a white plate, wrapped up in white cloth, on which there is some white earth. He rubs his forehead with this earth and prays for forgiveness. The Sakalava word for white actually means "pleasant, hopeful, delightful". In important events they sprinkle white earth on the floor of the hut. Many amulets include feathers from a white cock and white beads.

At sacrifices of cattle, which play such a fundamental part in the life of the Malagasy, preference is given to the *Volavita*, an ox with a white patch on the forehead, back, both sides and tail, as well as the four legs.

On other occasions white is used as the symbol of moral freedom. Often shortly after his wedding the tactful husband will send his wife a white cock whereby he signifies his intention of following the old custom of having the right to other women. The everyday term for government officials whose deeds are exposed to public criticism, is "white cocks". The proverb says: "The white

cock is easily noticed and attacked by the wild cat".

The Malagasy usually carries two tobacco boxes, a filled one in a black colour, and an empty white, transparent one. The last he shows visitors to whom he does not want to give tobacco. "White tabus" are those ancestral tabus which the Malagasy attempt to circumvent or which they consider to hold power only within limited regions.

Red

The Malagasy word *mena* embraces many shades of red and brown from brightest orange to deep chocolate. Blood red was the colour used by the Hova dynasty to denote their power and it was their prerogative. As the sign of their might the kings carried a red umbrella. The last queen's umbrella was on show at the Paris Exhibition in 1937 (she was deposed in 1895 by the French). If any one sentenced to death had the luck to see the royal umbrella whilst its owner was out walking, such a person had his sentence rescinded. So that the king could use both his hands whilst making his public speeches a servant held his red umbrella, but immediately the speech was concluded the sovereign regained possession of his symbol of power. Among the Sakalava at the west coast there is an annual cult for their late kings. Four male descendents of the royal line, clad in red garments and carrying the relics of the last sovereign, wear red caps on their heads.

Red is for all the Malagasy tribes the symbol of power, might and wealth. When parents call their son Rakotomena—red boy, they express their hope that he may come to be highly esteemed.

"Red that has red over it", says the Native of someone, who, although in possession of an important position, has yet another over him. The order of rank is described in a proverb: "The cock's throat is red, but it is under the comb and that is still redder".

Madagascar has large stretches of barren, red earth, but to the Natives it is the symbol of their homeland and the soldier serving in distant France speaks and writes of his country always as *tany mena*—red earth.

Children born in the unlucky month of August have "a red fate". They are regarded as dangerous and are often killed. In some villages they have to wear red beads and have certain parts of their bodies rubbed with red *nato*. They must always wear red garments so that people may beware of them.

The dead are wrapped in a *lamba mena*—silk cloth, dyed red. The wealthy have many of these cloths and the family parade them through the village for three days. In 1896, a year after the French conquest of Madagascar, armed bands roamed the country, clad in garments dyed with blood, stealing and burning where they could. They called themselves "red shirts".

The idol Rabehaza was envelopped in red silk and red cattle were offered to it. When people danced around it, the red silk cloth moved as the sign of the idol's delight. Evil tongues, however, declared that the guardians had put little animals under the idol to make the cloth move.

Blue

Blue is frequently used as a term for beautiful and pleasant. "The blue person" is the term given to someone who is a welcome guest.

It is the favourite colour of the Hova, and they are proud of the faint blueish tinge of their skins. In speeches of welcome the king was always referred to as "the blue bird". In many folk-songs the blue bird is a messenger of love: "Hear, you blue birds who fly in pairs. If you meet my beloved tell her it is now a year since she went away and I, out of grief, have not taken a bath for seven months."

Again and again blue is used as a symbol of agreeable things. "Onions with blue roots, sugar cane with blue leaves, eat them whenever you can." The belle of the village praises herself in a song: "I am the blue one whom a thousand cannot possess".

Green

As in the case of most colours the Malagasy is extremely inexact in his designation of green objects.

"Green hair" is a metaphor applied to youth, and in songs and poems the beloved girl is called "green one". Anyone dying young is said to do so "in the green of life". Green is often applied to a person whose parents are still alive and in many rites admission is restricted to such persons.

If parents call their daughters "green money" they express their hope that they will marry young and someone wealthy.

Grey

Mavo in Malagasy means "grey, greyish-brown, dust-coloured". The thought, that he who mixes in unclean deeds soils himself, is expressed in a native proverb: "If the ox tramples down the ant-hill, he becomes *mavo* (dirty)".

Mavo in the sense of dirty is often employed for lepers, because the Malagasy believe that this disease comes as a result of the sufferer's own misdeeds. Witches are sometimes called *ny mavo*—the grey ones.

Im everyday life mavo is always used to convey the idea of mean, low in birth and thought, e.g.: he married a woman of low birth. The humble man, when giving the praise to others that rightly belongs to him, says: "I am only *mavo*". Now and then the Native calls his child "the grey" (low one) in order to divert the attention of the evil spirits, in other words, he wants to tell them: "This child of ours is really worthless, ugly, dirty, don't pay attention to it!"

Grey cats are hated and are connected with witches. An old decree said: "If the dog belongs to you or me, whenever he is grey like the cat he must be killed!"

Monochrome Objects

These studies of the significance of colours in the life of the Malagasy show that they prefer things of one colour. *For them, one colour represents clarity.* To warn people against living in dissensions and strife, the Hova proverb remarks: "Do not mix white with black! Let one colour be enough!"

Sorcérsers, engaged in performing their rites, use a mat of one colour, for they fear that a striped

one would divert the truth. As a reward for their good offices they choose a one coloured animal, be it a cock, sheep or goat. This does, however, not signify that in certain cases the Native does not think it necessary to choose multi-coloured animals for his rites.

Colour Contrast

To increase the effect of his speeches the Malagasy uses phrases that contain colour contrasts. A folk-song describes a lover's conflicting feelings when he has to choose between a beautiful and a wealthy girl. "In the market a blue plate and a red one are offered for sale. How shall I decide? If I take the red one, later on I shall regret not having bought the blue plate. On the other hand, if I buy the blue I shall be sorry that I did not take the red one. Therefore I will buy both."

To stress the fact that everything has its cause the Malagasy says: "Red earth, red roots; black earth, black roots!" The Natives in the region of Nossibe buy multi-coloured ribbons before the first hair-cut of their child. These ribbons represent the changeability of life. They make a red cap with white bands for the child. Red is the symbol of the power of life, white, the hope which shall guide him on his way. The Malagasy combines his joy at the sight of his sweetheart with his nameless sorrow at her absence, in a song: "I see a white dress (*lamba*), if I could see yours, I should be happy, oh my sweetheart! I see a piece of black cloth in your absence, and my heart is black."

According to custom, the wife who leaves her husband must return to his hut at the New Year's Feast and share his bed. If she refuses, it will bring disastrous consequences upon her. In order to point out his decision to his wife, the husband will send her an old red cock, a piece of white material and a walking stick. The old red cock represents the elderly husband, the white cloth his white hairs and the stick is the support of his old age. He thereby makes her to understand: "When I am old and my hair is white and I have to support myself on a stick, even then I have the right to forbid you to remarry,

because you refused to return to me for the New Year's Festival."

The Hova royal idol, whose motto was: "There are not two rulers", had two little flags, a white one, which promised land to the queen, and a

red one, which gave the sovereign hope of full state coffers. Actually the dynasty's flag was red and white and it is likely that these two colours were chosen because of the two colours of the idol.

MAKALAKA

A. M. SEBINA

Introduction

A good many years ago Sir Chas. F. Rey arranged for a literary competition and this essay, by Mr. Peter M. Sebina, took first prize. Mrs. McKay, of the Gubbins' Library, drew my attention to a copy of this essay lodged and very kindly made a copy of it for me.

The Department of Native Affairs in its Ethnological Publications, Vol. VIII, *The Copper Mines of Messina and The Early History of the Zoutpansberg*, has published therein three essays by Africans, and it seems that here is another that could profitably be published.

Permission to do so has been obtained from Mr. Sebina who is a headman over a large section of the Bakalanga people in the Serowe district of Bechuanaland.

He gives, in a private letter to me, the following details about himself :

"I am very much interested not only in the history of the Makalaka but also of the Bamangwato people, for I belong to both by adoption. My great-grandfather Mocwaing, was born at Cwaing in the Molopo River—some say to the north-west of Vryburg. He was of the royal blood. He broke away from his people, and together with his followers, journeyed northwards to establish a kingdom of his own. Previously, another sub-chief of the same family had broken away from the main stock, and was given the rebel name of Ba-ka-ea (Nalaa) So when my great-grandfather broke away as well, he was given that same name. He broke away from the Baralong tribe at Ga-Khunwana-Kraaipan.

When he came to Shoshong Hills in the Bamangwato territory he found his predecessors (the Bakaa) living there, and he went farther north until he came to the land of the Makalaka in the reign of Mefiwe (Mengwe) after Mambo. He and his people became the subjects of Mefiwe.

This, in brief, is how I came to be a Mokalaka. Now I am Mongwato because the Makalaka of this country have been incorporated and are now the Bamangwato."

With Mr. Sebina's permission I have edited his essay and added a few notes.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

Makalaka

The Makalaka is a populous tribe and their history consists of many elements. Though they can understand one another the language of these people is not entirely the same. There is Sekalaka proper and then there is the Seririma. They call themselves the Ba-ka-Langa, and their language the I-ka-Langa. They have been contemptuously called the Makalaka as has been the case with some other tribes. In all native languages we find :

Motho	(singular)	Batho	(plural)
Mokwena	"	Bakwena	"
Mongwato	"	Bangwato	"
Mokalaka	"	Bakalaka	"
Marotsi	"	Barotsi	"
Mopedi	"	Bapedi	"

but if referred to with contempt we have : *Makalaka*, *Marotsi*, *Mapedi*, and at present these names are used without contemptuous meaning. The Makalaka, the Marotsi and the Mapedi have now accepted the term the origin of which was through contempt and the writer will use the term throughout this essay.

Definition of the Ba-ka-Langa.

Ba-ka-Langa means "The people of the Sun". *Ba* in all native languages refers to people. We have the

- Ba-Kwena* – The People of Kwena,
- Ba-Nwato* – The people of Nwato,
- Ba-Nwaketse* – The people of Nwaketse.

Ka in the Se-Tabele, Se-Xosa, and Se-Zulu is equivalent to "of". Thus we have in the Se-Tebele: *Mzilikazi-ka-Matyobane* (Moselekatse of Machobane). In the Xosa language we have: *Inkomo ka Bawo* (my father's cow), etc. *Langa* in the Se-Tebele languages to which we have already referred means the Sun. It may therefore be surmised that the word *Ba-ka-Langa* means "The people of the Sun" for the reason that: *Ba* = "the people", *Ka* = "of", *Langa* = "the Sun".¹ The people of Langa are found in Natal and a European writer (Sir Rider Haggard) in one of his works (*Nada the Lily*) refers to such a tribe which he calls the Langeni tribe.

It would appear that the name *Ba-ka-Langa* has its origin from an ancient god which the people worshipped—the Sun god. And we can therefore safely say that it means "Worshippers of the Sun". In the Scriptures we learn that the ancient Egyptians worshipped the Sun god called *Rā*. Many years ago the Babylonians also worshipped the sun. In another of Sir Rider Haggard's works (*Allen Quatermain*) we find that the Zuvendi's in Africa worshipped the sun.

The history of the Makalaka

As we have already stated, the Makalaka are composed of many elements. The original sect are the Banyai² whose chief was Munumutapa.

The name *Munumutapa* amongst the ancient Banyai meant king. It was very disrespectful among the Banyai to refer to the king's name. They merely referred to him as king. Therefore *Munumutapa* means king though the name has now died away. Each successive king was called Munumutapa³ so that many kings have passed under that name. The sons of the king, among the ancient Banyai, had also a special term of respect. They were called Vanambo.

The rule of the Banyai kings resembled the present Bechuana rule. There were elements who desired to leave the king's rule, to form tribes of their own to become independent, and this malady was more conspicuous among royal headmen than commoners. When a strong king, who had frustrated these attempts, died, and was

succeeded by another king, the attempts would be even more vigorous at the beginning of the reign, but in the end the headmen would surrender. If, however, the new king was not strong the intrigues would succeed and certain headmen would desert the king, taking people with them, and making a tribe of their own. This procedure introduced a number of kings in the country. There were wars between these kingdoms and families. The strong became powerful and the weak were accordingly diminished.

Mambo

As time passed the name Munumutapa disappeared and Mambo was substituted therefore. *Mambo* means king and the Makalaka still adhere to this expression—the Makalaka who still adhere to the history of their now extinct kingship.

In his time Mambo was king indeed. There was no possibility of comparing him with any other king. He was inferior only to Nwale-Nkolo, the god which the tribe worshipped. The people of Mambo built stone walls (kraals) on mountain tops. In these kraals they killed entirely black oxen for Nwale-Nkolo and these were given as offerings to their god.⁴ These kraals can still be found on hill tops where Mambo ruled.

The capital of Mambo was Damboshaba (Red Hill). A high rock exists on this mountain and is attached to Damboshaba.⁵ The name of the rock is Monyauluzhwe. We are told that at one time this rock stood upright but at present it stands in a declining position. The Banyai or ancient Makalaka attempted to out-root this rock with the object of removing it to Mambo's kgotla to become the throne.⁶ Yes, many attempts were made but the rock could not be removed. The least they could do was to leave it in a declining position and hence forth the rock is declining in an easterly direction.

Mambo had never touched earth with his feet. It was reputed to him that if he touched the ground, heavens would fall and the world would be destroyed, and calamity would befall the people.⁷ Wherever he desired to go Mambo

was carried in a brayed oxhide by his people. A flat stone would accompany the cortege, in order that he should step on to this stone at his destination rather than his feet touch the ground. If he had to stand he would have to stand on the stone.

Mambo was a great king, a prophet of repute for Nwale-Nkolo, a leader of all witch-doctors in the Bokalaka territory; all medicine of luck and important charms were obtainable from him. No one could carry out or even imitate any of his undertakings, except the renowned god Nwale-Nkolo alone. In his rule there was no possible obstruction. He was marvellous in his predictions of future happenings. He was an exceptional wizard, was dreaded, and only pointed his finger at an object if he desired its death. No one was more friendly to Nwale-Nkolo than Mambo. He did not employ an assegai or a stick to kill one of his men, but simply called the guilty before him and casting some earth at the culprit death followed almost instantaneously.

Each year Mambo undertook a journey from Damboshaba to Njele, the headquarters of Nwale-Nkolo. The priest of Nwale-Nkolo according to the Makalaka was called Hosanna, and he alone had the privilege of speaking personally to Nwale-Nkolo after which he reported to the people. In the course of these journeys black oxen were driven to offer thanksgivings and prayers to the god to solicit his defence and grant Mambo's request on behalf of his people.

The heathens, the uncivilised among the Makalaka still worship Nwale-Nkolo, their ancient god. They become intensely injured if anyone denied the godpower of Nwale-Nkolo. In times of drought one sees the worshippers of the ancient god in an undisguised appearance. They will follow Hosanna whenever they hear of him. They take with them young full breasted girls—girls of a fascinating character. They inform the "man-of-god" what their anxiety is. The Hosanna approaches the entrance of a cave inhabited by Nwale-Nkolo, and there he pleads for them within their hearing. The cave-god replies in their presence. Nwale-Nkolo is reputed

with ability to change his voice with ease. Sometimes he speaks in a man's voice and at times his voice is that of an infant.

Monyangura and Njenjema were famous headmen but they are now both dead. Their examples are however traceable as they died in the service of their lord. Nwale-Nkolo has given unto them rest from the work they performed for him so skilfully and faithfully. We mourn not for them as it has been said: "Weep not for the dead" (Jeremiah 22: 10). On the contrary we are comforted because it has been written: "And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me Write, Blessed are the dead which die unto the Lord henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours and their works do follow them" (Revelation 14: 13).

Truly have their works followed them because Maboni, the son of Njejema is still alive, and he is strenuously carrying out the example of his father. "Men shall die but man will live." Christ and His Church are opposed to darkness and the works of Nwale-Nkolo and Maboni, but it is not a battle of sticks, it is a battle with mouths. Happy are the people of Christ in their work. A battle is on and the Bible is their weapon and their shield. Praises are sung to the effect that "darkness is gradually disappearing and glory reigns in the land of the Lord". The battle of the Christians does not interfere with Maboni. He tenaciously adheres to his principles—the servant of the ancient god of our people—he does not heed the God of the white man, but despite his tenacity the war continues.

In many places wherein the Makalaka are resident the Hosannas of Nwale-Nkolo exist, but their leader is Maboni the son of Njejema. Some of them are ignorant of Njelele, the headquarters of their god, but they are satisfied as they have Nwale-Nkolo with them wherever they are. For this reason we believe in the saying "God is everywhere".

Nwale-Nkolo is capable of adopting the form of anything at his will. An iguana or a viper entering a hut of a Makalaka would be the signal of an immediate circularising of the people that the god has entered the hut of so and so.⁸ People

suddenly collect. A woman takes her pots away from the fire though she may have been engaged preparing her husband's meal. Similarly the men at the kgotla, busily braying skins, drop these and hurry to the place where the god has arrived. Everything is brought to a standstill. The noise begins, songs are begun. Old men, old women young men and women, all join in the dance for the respected stranger within. Each one claps his hands and each one individually prays to the present god for his own luck and blessing—the god that they are able to see. The festival will be continued till long after sunset until the snake becomes annoyed by the noise and disappears. The song of the god is thus ended but not until the old men and women are helplessly wearied and out of breath as though they suffered from epilepsy.

The owner of the hut into which the god paid a visit is looked upon as a blessed being. The snake has gone leaving the owners of the village in happiness, especially the host of the god. He is in such happiness, this blessed man so much so that he sleeps very soundly. The woman (the man's wife) is also regarded as fortunate as the husband. She is envied for marrying such a lucky man and one who ploughs a land with abundance of corn, Yea, a woman whose quantities of beer can hardly be excelled.

Ask of the worshippers of Nwale-Nkolo and they will tell you he is there all right, but if you want to know the truth and you are not a white man, obtain a pass, as you will have to go through Rhodesia. Take the road, but do not forget some provision, the country is far. There you will find Nwale-Nkolo. No doubt you will find Nwale-Nkolo at Njelele. But on approaching Njelele remember the example of Moses: "put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground".

Njelele is a large and high rock spreading extensively on its sides, and the cave of the ancient god is to be found there, even the god himself you will find if you approach.

Death of the sacred Mambo

Mambo died at Njelele. Thus has passed the servant of the god, but no one can show us where

his grave is. Mambo the servant of Nwale-Nkolo has lived the life of Moses the servant of Jehovah. Moses died in the mountain of Pisgah, Mambo died in the mountain of Njelele. Jehovah revealed not to man the grave of Moses and Nwale-Nkolo has not revealed the grave of Mambo. Mambo, the servant of Nwale-Nkolo died a religious death in the same way as did Moses the servant of Jehovah, but he died in heathen religion in contrast to Moses who died in Christian religion.

The eldest son of Mambo was called Tumbale, otherwise he was known as Vanambo Tumbale (Prince Tumbale—in English). Some historians say he was called Sabangu.

Tumbale was very ill-mannered, he was bordering on insanity. He would listen to no advice and especially ignored the instructions of his parents. He was heartless, cruel and remorseless to people. He mocked the blind and the crippled and had no education either in European or native languages. When he was in his young-manhood his father told Tumbale that the Nwale-Nkolo had instructed that he should have sandals prepared for him (Tumbale) that he may tramp on the ground with these—as they looked to him to become Mambo when the old man passed away. Tumbale relentlessly refused. The son of a king, he objected to his traditional shoes—the wait-for-mes in the proper sense. He stated that if a different kind of shoes, a kind that he had never seen before, were made for him he would probably wear them out of sheer curiosity, but not in accordance with the instructions of Nwale-Nkolo. So refused Tumbale, the son of Mma-Tumbale, fearless of his father and scornful of the god. He expressed himself as being unconcerned with Nwale-Nkolo, that if Nwale-Nkolo was anxious to put sandals on, he should do so himself and not worry him (Tumbale) for no reason. So spoke the heir-apparent, regardless of the consequences, unmindful of the results, and fearless of the so-called god, the god that gave rain to his people to enable them to reap abundant corn.

This dealt Mambo a terrible blow: Could this be his *own* child? Could it be the heir to

the kingdom of the Makalaka? He was deeply injured at heart for his own son to insult the god which gave him life. He offered himself in prayer to the god of his fathers: disassociated himself from the words expressed by his son. Nwale-Nkolo listened to him, believed him, and blessed him.

The incorrigible Tumbale did not confine his propaganda to mere lip-service, he actually and proudly tramped on the prohibited earth, and declared that he was doing so very deliberately in order to invite Nwale-Nkolo to take action. When Mambo saw this, when he heard Tumbale's declarations he decided that he would prefer death to life. He felt that death was preferable to the shame brought to his life. The old man fled from his home. He fled with an injured mind. He fled from the deeds and declarations of his own son. So fled Mambo, the renowned king, a king whose fleeing was unbecoming. He fled to Njelele to Nwale-Nkolo, the god of his forefathers.

Before he left his home, before he undertook his last earthly journey to Njelele, he sent a message to his younger brother, Whange, inviting the latter to come to Damboshaba and take over the rule of the Makalaka in his place. At this stage Whange had a village of his own, having separated from Mambo and living independently. Whange had left his brother under the usual malady to which headmen are addicted. Mambo explained to his brother that Tumbale would never rule the Makalaka in view of his blasphemy of their god. Whange, much as he was a supporter of his forefather's religion, feared his nephew and did not go to Damboshaba. He feared this irresponsible young man who had the courage to insult the god. He stayed at his home at Wankies (as it is now known to the white man). He did not accept the kingdom which he had not won in war and for which there had been no bloodshed. Mambo did not await the return of his messenger to Whange. It became imperative for the fearful king to leave his capital at Damboshaba and proceed to Njelele, the country of the god of his fathers. So left the great one, full of thought and fear. His cortege carried him in the usual oxhide—taking him to his people—to the good old Nwale-Nkolo.

A respected king, a dreaded monarch, a man who was feared and dreaded by everything with life, the great hosanna of the ancient god, the revealer of secrets and of the unknown among the Makalaka, the man in charge of the charm-horns⁹ of the Makalaka, Mambo left this home in grief. He left his beloved tribe, the tribe for whom he had lived in prayer from time to time in the eyes of his father's god. He left a tribe which obeyed with the obedience described by the Basuto as one "of fact" and by the Bapedi as "unflinching". He left his wives, Mma-Tumbale and her juniors. He left his children, Tumbale and his younger brothers and sisters. Mambo left all his wealth, he left the glory in which he had invariably appeared, and all this due to his own son, the heartless Tumbale. There flees the ancient man, a grey-haired and white-bearded figure. There he flees deeper into Rhodesia to Nwale-Nkolo at Njelele. He flees from Tumbale, he flees from destruction and the wrath that cometh.

So has our grandfather left. He has gone for ever, and none of the members of the cortege ever returned to Damboshaba. They have all disappeared and comparative quiet followed their departure. The day of Mambo's departure was the day of sorrow not only to Mambo but also to his tribe. The last words spoken by Mambo to his son were: "*Chilambobudzwa ha chi to lambo bona*" (Much as one may pay no heed to advice he cannot close his eyes to happenings). Tears stood in the old man's eyes when he said this and his tribe was weeping bitterly.

Mambo the Last

Tumbalo, the suppressor of the laws of the Makalaka, the laws of his forefathers, the blasphemer of his gods, entered into the throne of his village unconcernedly. He became Mambo at Damboshaba and its surroundings. He sat on the throne without his forefathers' "linga". He despised Nwale-Nkolo more than ever before. He boasted that when Nwale-Nkolo saw him for the first time he would need no introduction to him as the new Mambo. "It would

be obvious to Nwale-Nkolo", he hissed. Mambo cast his forefathers' religion to the dogs. He became a man above all. He feared neither God nor the devil. Nwale-Nkolo failed now to receive offerings, and the god felt starvation keenly, according to the imagination of Tumbale. The black oxen grazed, fattened, and grass could be felt in their bellies. Natural death to Nwale-Nkolo's dances inevitably followed. All this was done by Mambo in order that Nwale-Nkolo could take up the challenge if he dared.

When you Have Defeated a Fool, Do Not Pursue Him Too Far: He Becomes Dangerous In His Repulsive Attack.

One day when Mambo (Tumbale) was sitting in the hut of his favourite wife, he heard Nwale-Nkolo speaking to him from the top of the hut. Mambo became very angry and went so far as to tell Nwale-Nkolo that it was a collision between them. He snatched a burning piece of wood and forced this into the thatch of the hut. The thatch very naturally, agreed to the king's proposal, and the hut lifted the flames high up into the sky, so that everyone should bear witness that the deed was that of the owner and thus dispel any suggestion that small children were responsible for the fire.

It was Mambo's imagination that Nwale-Nkolo would be burned to ashes. When nothing but flames and the debris could be seen of the hut, Nwale-Nkolo was heard talking to himself very calmly in the tree situated in the midst of the village. The tree was, of course, immediately chopped down with the object of bringing Nwale-Nkolo to his doom, but the god was nowhere to be found. He was, however, heard to speak from a grindstone at the opening where children and kids played. Immediately the grindstone was buried. Nwale-Nkolo, observing the vain efforts and folly of the people, laughed from some bundles of grass which were, of course, immediately set to fire by someone. Nwale-Nkolo was again heard from the inside of an ox. Someone stole over towards the ox with an assegai and stabbed the poor animal to death.

All this did not help. Nwale-Nkolo was un-

manageable nor could they catch or see the god let alone kill him. Again the voice of the hunted god. This time the direction from which it came could not be ascertained. The people became "miserable" in the words of the Basuto. "All of those of us who heard the voice", says Rakalape, "despaired, we heard for the first time the voice of an angry god, whether we wanted to or not".

Mambo swallowed emptiness now and again when Nwale-Nkolo spoke. He licked his lips but no moisture was left on them. The despised, the blasphemed and the hunted god now spoke in order that Mambo should have first-hand information. Mambo was now not putting up a fight. He was not saying "we have met", he was steady and motionless as one under a barber's operation. So said the god: "You have despised me, you have insulted me in the presence of you people, you have refused to give ear to what I have said; you have shut your heart from admitting any of my injunctions, you have attempted my life more than once—behold, I leave ye and no more shall I return to your midst. You will never hear my voice again in your land, but in place of my voice you will have some warriors come—a hefty and a healthy lot of young men, clothed in decorated loin cloths, and then, and then only, shalt thou realise that Nwale-Nkolo is a man and owns an assegai."¹⁰

There was dead silence! By Jove! The voice of an angry god pierced the heart. The queen endeavoured to speak to the king; but there was no reply beyond the scratching of his hair. It was amazing for the king to be silent when spoken to by his favourite wife. She imagined her rivals had done something against her to the king. She hurried and obtained her "love-making" charm in order to restore the king's alienated affection before the gulf became deeper. She imitated the majority but this time the charm was quite ineffective.

Shortly afterwards the Matebele appeared. There was no doubting the fury of the sons of Moselekatse in their decorated vermin skin loins—the warriors of the heathen god. A fierce battle was fought in the Nkwewezi valley. Mambo the great, desperately endeavoured to

swallow up the hordes in decorated loins, but he was met with similar determination on the part of his opponents. Mamotlana threw his assegais straight and determinedly. He threw them in all directions regardless of the number he had left in hand. He threw them into the midst of the Matebele. But as he threw them the Matebele quietly picked them up and added them to their number. So threw Mamotlana until Mamorotsi wept like a woman, even as the women of Bethlehem and refused any offer of consolation.

When a Letebele warrior threw his spear, he would shout after the action: "*Umkonoto unxaniwe, usezeni egozini*" (The spear is thirsty, water it in blood). At this the warriors of the Secwana god charged with increased ferocity and echoed: "*Mamoo! Mamoo! Mamoo!*" One who strikes the first blow is just as good as the one who delivers the final blow. Thus at the cry "*Mamoo*" a warrior would stab through the stomach followed by a knobkerried man, more dreadful and fierce than the assegai man, gnawing his teeth and yelling: "*Zhii! Zhii! Zhii!*" The son of the Mokalaka was responding splendidly, scattering a Letebele brain in all directions from time to time with his knobkerrie. A Letebele would be seen dragging his own intestines in his train to the accompaniment of "*Maibaboo!*" Yes, it was a perfect show, a convincing destruction of human life, and dreadful sight at that.

Mambo was defeated in his own country, and in the eyes of his own people. It was then he was reminded of all that his father had said to him. He called each and every word to mind. He endeavoured to take up and follow other people's example. He recollected every sentence which Nwale-Nkolo had uttered personally to him. Mambo's warriors had been lamentably scattered, had fled, had been defeated in battle, and tears ran out of his eyes. He called to memory the warriors described by the old men of his tribe, the black biting soldiers of his great-grandfather Madzibambwe of Munumutapa. During the reign of Munumutapa the Madzibumbwe or "Drivers of Elephants" was a celebrated regiment. They were crowned with victory in every

engagement. Their bravery was the subject of comment in Kgotlas. The effect of their "biting" was the subject of comforting songs for infants by newly-delivered mothers. All this was truly reflected in Mambo's mind. His mind wandered and he became miserable. He allowed his mind to forget the past but concentrated on what he had actually seen and witnessed on that memorable day. He had seen the warriors of the Nwale-Nkolo in their decorated skin loins as had been prophesied, and it had been brought home to his perception that Nwale-Nkolo possessed an assegai. Mambo glanced at his own assegais. These were oiled in human blood: blood of the fallen warriors whose only comfort was now the death hymn of the green fly, which spat decay on their now motionless bodies. Mambo's head drooped. He endeavoured to estimate what the effect of his own assegais had been. The result was a blank. He despised his assegais and felt the Matebele's were the more effective as the latter had produced victory in their trail.

Suddenly the words of the god appeared in their original form in Mambo's mind. The effect of the memory of these words to his heart was such as is felt by one suffering from dyspepsia. He shook his head like a child and involuntarily found himself saying in his mother's tongue: "*Cha legwa cha itakalahunyana dza bo shaba dzose*", meaning "What has been said has occurred—all pieces of wood are reddened". Good job he spoke in his own language. If it had fallen to our lot to make the expression in these times of co-mixture of languages we would have found ourselves subconsciously using the Dutch phrase "*Alle Magtig*".

But the joke is to hear the story from Rankalapi in person: the herder of the all black sheep of the kings' kraal, the dairyman connected with the black and white-dotted cows of king Mambo. You will follow his example and find that unobserved a tear has run out of one of your eyes down your cheek. Rankalapi speaks: He describes the innumerable number of Mambo's men. He has told us of his old king Mambo, shining in the wealth of black and white-dotted cows and swarms of all black sheep. But when he comes to

describe the warriors of Mambo we stare at him quite motionless. He tells us of the brilliant heavy-built young men of the Makalaka who controlled their assegais with the skill of trained marksmen: young men who set out for battle and the vultures were certain of abundant food. One winter day, says Rankalapi, while singing and dancing round a pot of pure native "imperial", there suddenly appeared beyond the mountain what appeared at first to be dust. It was not dust but the outcome of an attack on a village which had been set on fire.

The remnants from the deadly assegai who arrived reported to the king, the owner of a distinguished horde of warriors, the wealthy man on black and white-dotted cows, in all black sheep. The approach of the attackers proved beyond doubt that they were Matebele—men with exceptionally big thighs. The brilliant army of Mambo turned armed with assegais and axes. They met the advancing Matebele in the Nkwewezi valley—this side of the "Prostitutes" [sic] village. The clash of the two armies was a terrible sight. All one could hear was "*Gwaza! Gwaza! Gwaza!* (Stab! Stab! Stab!) a sure sign of death. The assault was beyond what the Makalaka could stand. They retired in confusion to the mountain to find refuge.

Women, children and cattle were also driven post haste to the hill tops. Cows which bellowed after their calves were left behind as they would offer the Matebele an opportunity of tracing the whereabouts of their enemy. The Matebele triumphantly entered Mambo's village and did havoc. Roaring like lions, they set houses on fire, indiscriminately killed both men and women irrespective of age. Cripples suffered the same fate. An infant would be taken by its legs and thrown jokingly into the flames of a blazing hut. What a terrible punishment by Nwale-Nkolo! But what is there to be said: Jehovah also treats people in this manner when His wrath is aroused: "And to the others he said in mine hearing, Go ye after him through the city, and smite: let not your eyes spare, neither have ye pity: slay utterly old and young, both maids and little children, and women"

In the evening the Matebele proceeded further on and destroyed cattle mercilessly. They killed until the strength failed their arms to lift their assegais. Then followed the War dance, the song of the gods was sung, sung by men whose numbers had been reduced.

At daybreak the birds of God,¹¹ birds unable to kill for themselves, and which receive their share through the instrument of God and man, birds which share the remains of what the lion has devoured—vultures were seen from afar and there was plenty of dead bodies. Thus we are told by Rankalapi, the herder of the large sheep of the king's kraal, the dairyman in charge of the black and white-dotted heifer of the king's household, the wearer of the snug sheep kaross, and the man who sleeps on the comfortable calf skin. He sheds tears when he recalls the memories of the olden past, times when he killed leopards for the king, tigresses whose hunters shed tears. He wipes perspiration with his jackal tail, the tail which the Matebele assume is a pair of trousers. This is the Rankalapi who at one time was Mambo's fire-kindler at the kgotla. When he describes his experiences he does so in tears, weeping for his now extinct kingdom. He wept and with his head turned towards Rhodesia said:

"When Mambo the ruler of nations existed
When there existed the ruler of people
Not the young Matebele were called
But the call was sent forth unto the cave
They sent to god resident therein
The god with the gods for the creation of
mankind
Came he forth from the cave full of wrath
Commoners bit off their arms even their elbows
Come forth nations to him to surrender
For fear of his strong and heavy neck.

Arrived he outside a village
Unobserved with his medicinal equipment
Spoke he to the gods with acception
he obtained news from his father's kgotla
Called he unto Kapo from inside a hut
Cast he at him earthly ground
Kapo died unconscious on a third day
He died in laughter, died rolling on his back.

Scattered are we by an army at the valley
Fled we without looking back, Oh! Munu-
mutapa

'Thy laws are just and we appeal unto thee
in thy cave.

Thine land has been taken by the white man
Thine descendants have Masarwa become
They are not allowed freedom: freedom to
visit one another

Required they to carry the unknown pass
Pray, Oh God! in thine cave
Come ye forth rule thine people
Come thou forth with thin spear
We live in tribulation of this side of the
border

The white man with his deadly cannons
Have our country from us removed
Baloons scout the boundaries of our lands
White people play into thine court yards
Call they thine house "Zimbabwe"
They name thin house after war
The name of thine warriors Melelekatou
So also have they annoyed us by inviting
Their visitors thereto.

Whilst we thus listened to Rankalapi came
forth a red and white-dotted cow bellowing,
longing to see her calf in the kraal. He referred
to her, praised her, and sang songs for her for
the inheritance of his fathers. He said:

Why bellowst thou the daughter of peace
Why bellowst thou cow of God
Thou remindest me of the days of Secwana
The days when mine fathers died in open
veld
When cattle were looted by the Matebele
Bellow but respect bellowing
Lest thou be heard by the servants of the king
A bellowing cow becomes not a village small.

Rankalapi stood up and we did not meet him
again.

After the battle Mambo fled to Whange at
Wankies. Mambo, the suppressor of the Sekalaka
customs—his own people's customs, a man who
disputed with the gods of the Makalaka. Mambo,
the great king of the Makalaka, a king who refused
to obey the laws of his fathers: so also did the
kingdom deny him for ever.

He died at Wankies—at his uncle's home.
He died without exercising the right of kingship
to which he was entitled by virtue of his birth.
The kingship escaped through his nostrils and

ears. He was made to spit out that which he
was chewing with satisfaction. His pot fell off
his head while other people had their pots still
on their heads.

So died the poor heathen. No one prayed either
to Christ or to Nwale-Nkolo for him. He died
with no destiny in his mind. He had not the
hope of salvation from either God or god. He
was just seized by death. No one knew where
his wives and children had taken refuge. His
soft-bellied queen were not present at the mourn-
ing for his death. He was mourned by mere
people and buried in his rags. His uncles buried
him merely because of his relationship. He
neither procured an after-death witch-doctor on
his behalf. We have yet to know what took place
when he encountered Nwale-Nkolo in the pre-
sence of his father and those previously deceased.

But John says: "And I saw the dead, small
and great, stand before God, and the books were
opened; and another book was opened which is
the book of life; and the dead were judged out of
those things which were written in the books
according to their works".

We cannot say: Possibly Mambo was amongst
them. We mourn for him, however, as we do
not know whither he has gone. For his father,
whose memory we cherish, we do not mourn,
but we live in prayer for him. We join those
who actually saw him leave for Njelele and say:

Go ye in peace, Oh! thou King Mambo
Go ye in peace, Oh! thou servant of God
Let thy journey be peaceful till thou arrive
Let no stump on the road thy feet obstruct
That cattle may increase and give plenty of
milk.

And when thou hast arrived unto thy gods
Beseech peace on our behalf and cattle
Let us have late season rains
For fear us early seasoned rains
For fear of prowling thunders.

Look unto us though farthest
Let there be corn plentiful and melons
Let us have herbage in sandy parts
Let us milk cows goats and
Let there be milk in abundance
That we may not starve to death.

Menwe

When the Matebele warriors of Nwale-Nkolo had defeated the armies of Mambo, and after Mambo had taken refuge with Whange at Wankies, Menwe, who was merely a headman in those times, began the task of collecting the remnants of his tribe. He attempted to heal the wounds which had been inflicted in past times, he brought up the orphans whose fathers had died in battle and became a great king of the Makalaka.

During Meñwe's rule certain Matebele came. They had no women and the Makalaka called them *Maswimbulome*, that is to say bachelors. When these Matebele attempted war with Meñwe he laughed at them, and refused to fight, saying that they talked because they starved as they were very poor in condition. He said he would not fight people who were thin and had no women. Instead of detailing an army against them he gave them cattle to kill, eat and recover their condition and then could they talk about war.¹² The cattle were gratefully accepted by these starving ruffians. When pots of meat were boiling a man would have *hlanguti* roasting on the ashes. Yes it was a feast proper! and none of the Matebele forgot to have a lustful sip at the broth, yea the marrow softened the throat. The meat finished, the Matebele returned to whence they had come.

After a time they re-appeared, fat and accompanied by their women. This time Moselekatse came in person. He pitched himself on top of the ruins of the glorious but now destroyed kingdom of the Makalaka. The son of Machobane seized women and children, he was unsympathetic about anything belonging to a Mokalaka, he was cruelty in its entirety and showed no mercy towards a Mokalaka.

Meñwe saw all this with his two eyes. He saw the Matebele in their prime condition with their women and he was helpless. When Moselekatse attempted a battle with Meñwe, the king of the Makalaka kept away as he was not a child. Menwe surrendered to the Matebele without a single scrap. Together with his people he paid tribute

to the Matebele. A Mokalaka was a nonentity in the eyes of the Matebele. A Mokalaka would attempt to pass in front of a Letebele and you would see some fun. He would receive that look which only a lion is able to offer. And assuming the Letebele decided to open his mouth.

He would resemble the actual "King of beasts" and would deliver a heart-rending "Ga-a-u". Like lightning the Mokalaka would disappear from sight, jumping into the air like one who had trod on snake.

The Makalaka were used to handing their children over to the Matebele or the Matebele took such children away by force and no case followed. The Makalaka submitted to this in order that they might have a night's sleep. They did not like it, but they were powerless to do anything. These children the Matebele turned into *mabotho* or regiments, and they were branded with the Matebele brand, that of slashing their ears with a knife and they were identified by this brand like cattle. The children of the Makalaka, or, as they were known, *magole* (small people), had or were accustomed to having their ears pierced with a needle.

Sebina and Selolwane

Sebina and Selolwane are not Makalaka. Sebina is a Morolong and he has for his emblem *tshipi* (iron). Selolwane is a Mopedi of Rampulane. These two did not immigrate into the Makalaka territory at one and the same time, but they both came in during Meñwe's reign. Sebina came with his people from the Barolong territory. So also did Selolwane come with his people and his elder brother, Selolo, coming from Ntswana-Tsatsi. These two chiefs surrendered to Meñwe, waived their rights as chiefs, and became mere headmen.

Sebina

Sebina the son of Motswain, Motswain the son of Mothabane. He was a Morolong and his emblem is *tshipi* though the Sebina's have now retained *tlou* (elephant) for their emblem. When he first came into the Makalaka territory Sebina

was known by the name Motshipin or Mmina-Tshipi. His father, Motswain, was born at Tswaing, in the Barolong territory. Motswain separated from the Barolong at Khunwana. As nearly all headman desire independence, Motswain left his home with people, intending to become a chief of his own with an entirely different tribe. He was following the example of one headman of the Barolong who had left to make a tribe of his own and travelled through foreign territories. When the chief of the Barolong heard that such a headman had gone away with the people he remarked: "So, eh? They may go (*Ba ka ea*). I have already discovered their intention". These Barolong were thus called Bakaa. This headman and his people came and settled at Shoshong, in the Bamangwato territory, and they are called the Bakaa. They discarded the name of the Barolong and accepted the name Bakaa. They discarded also their emblem and adopted *tlou* instead.

Motswain then left with his people following his previously departed brothers. They were also styled the Bakaa. They discarded the *tshipi* and also adopted the *tlou*. But Motswain did not join his people in settlement at Shoshong. He was also anxious to form a chieftainship of his own, and therefore passed on and stayed far from his own people.

When he died he left his son Motshipin to succeed him. Motshipin did not like the territory which his father had died in. Picking up his belongings and hustling these on his pack oxen he proceeded to Damboshaba and joined Meñwe.

Motshipin found the chief of the Makalaka a strong chief with a strong tribe. He therefore surrendered himself to Meñwe and paid tribute to him and became one of Meñwe's men. Motshipin, before Meñwe, was respectful and full of submission. It was for this reason that Meñwe gave him the name Chwizina (*Chizwinila she*) inferring that Motshipin acted like a dog fawning on its master. As the Barolong were still unable to pronounce *Zwiniki-zwiniki* they could not pronounce their chief's new name and for convenience they called him Sebina.

The Barolong were accustomed to circumcision

but the Makalaka did not know anything about this custom which was foreign to them. When the time for circumcision was approaching Sebina asked of the chief that he be permitted to circumcise his young men and women according to custom. The chief Meñwe was anxious to know what this circumcision consisted of.

Sebina selected young men and women from his village and took them to the other side of the hills to teach them there the laws and customs of the Secwana of his parents. There was a school for young men and one for young women. In the young men's school the teachers were men such as Sebina himself and in the girls' school the women of Sebina's were the teachers. The schools were separated in the same way as is done at Lovedale and other European schools.

Meñwe and his people went to view this school in the veld and they learned some of the education received there. They liked the education. This secret school is a hard one and no one attends uninvited. There is no one allowed to go within the school boundaries, except those who have qualified through it. The punishment of anyone who goes within its boundaries without right is death and no enquiry is held following such death. There is no trial necessary before one is condemned to death.

Despite these strict rules Meñwe and his people entered the boundaries of the school though they had no certificate. There was no complaint as they had had the permission of the principal of the school.

The education received in these schools is of a varying character and many people do not know what the education is composed of except those who have had study in these schools. The lessons are not written on paper or on slate. They are written in indelible ink. They are written within the hearts of the pupils. Such education is a difficult one and if it is difficult to obtain it, and those who are qualified will not divulge it. They will not tell anyone about it except he who has gone through the same course as they have done, one who has suffered as they have done. It is a very dear education.

Though we are not told, one of the lessons in

these schools is "obedience". The pupils are taught to obey their elders as the rule said "Honour thy father and mother". That these lessons may not be forgotten by the pupils flogging is resorted to. The flogging is their ink and the paper is represented by their hearts. And the lessons should be carefully preserved and kept remembered. The *morethwa* is freely used but not a single one cries, it is mere education, it is manhood, it is what we called gentlemanliness.

"Thou shall obey the chief; thou shall obey thy father, thou shall not follow the law of thy mother." This is an example of the lessons at these schools. To teach the children to obey the chief is a great law of the Bechuana and each Mocwana child is brought up under these instructions. The chief is the mirror through which each one reflects himself. He is the father of all people. Each person calls himself a man of the chief. His cattle are also called the chief's cattle

Though this is present and is known, but in Secwana school it must be sealed into the hearts of people by a few marks on one's back. Perseverance in time of agony is the principal lesson and the foundation of all lessons. There is not a single pupil in these schools who has left and returned to his home owing to the severity of the flogging. Not one cries when he received punishment or runs away. Any eye might, of course, wink as it is accustomed to this. Nor can a pupil escape by dead of night. No, my dear Sirs, they endure unto the end and they fulfil the following: "But he that shall endure unto the end, he shall be saved". (Matt. 24 : 13).

Flogging continues incessantly as this is the foundation of obedience. Our proverb says "Obedience is the result of flogging". The song continues at which the teachers and pupils join vehemently. They are taught songs about *tlou* if that be their emblem. Likewise they are taught concerning *tshipi* if this is their emblem. We who read the Bible and know nothing about these things would be astounded at seeing them and if no one could explain them to us we may imagine it is the place whereat there would be howling and the gnashing of teeth.

The greatest advantage is that this school does not occupy the whole of the school term as our modern schools do. It would be terrible for the pupils. It is run for three months only. When the young men return from this school they are now men, the men of Sebina's village; and so also with the young women; they are now the ladies of Sebina's village. All privileges to which the men and women of Sebina's are entitled, they enjoy freely. They have permission now to procure wives and beget children.

Meñwe saw this form of education and he liked it. His people also liked it. They liked the lessons in this school where Bechuana children are taught obedience and character. They envied these lessons and henceforth each year when Sebina circumcised, the people of Meñwe sent their children to this Secwana school to learn there the laws of the Sechuana.

Through this custom of circumcision Sebina became a great man, a respected man and became famous amongst all the Makalaka tribes. In rule his was second only to the king Meñwe. As a mark of respect for his great work Meñwe gave Sebina a man named Gulubane or Kolobane. Kolobane had an elder brother named Subule who remained with the chief Meñwe. Later, however, he followed his younger brother and also became a man of Sebina.

Selolwane

Selolwane is a Mopedi of Ramapulane in the Transvaal. The old men of Selolwane's state that they were living at their home at Ntswana-Tsatsi. When he arrived at Bokalaka Selolwane was accompanied by his elder brother Selolo. The Makalaka could not pronounce these names properly. They named Selolo *Chulalu* and Selolwane was named *Chilagwane*. Any girl child of the Selolwane's is called *Ba-Chilalu* in a praise-worthy manner. The grandsons of Selolwane greatly respect their mothers and you will invariably find the Selolwane's swear by the mother: *Na Ba-Chilalu* (By Ba-Chilalu), but the name of the principal Selolo is often heard.

When Selolo was at Bokalaka with Selolwane

he was chief. Some time later he became anxious to return to his own country at Bopedi, he longed for the friends which he had left there. The mountains of his homeland were reflected in his mind until he decided to leave. Selolwane remained at Bokalaka. The Selolwane have *khupe* (hare) as their emblem. They do not eat a hare if it were killed in its nest. They say it had been killed while in a state of exhaustion. The Mfhashwa's, the people of Mswazi, came from this *kgotla*, and their seniors are the Selolwane's.

Mfhashwa or Mswazi

Shabalume is the originator of the Mfhashwa tribe. He was a younger brother of Selolwane. The dispute about lands brought disruption between him and his elder brother. When the Selolwane tribe settled at Nyamambisi, the heads of the tribe were Selolwane and Shabalume, and their uncle Ndambale. At that time people did not want to do anything for themselves, they desired to have food without going into the trouble of producing it, but as God has instructed that the generation of Adam shall eat in the sweat of their faces, food was not available.

Time arrived for plans to be made to obtain food. The chief Selolwane found an open place where he could plough. He found an open place round an ant-heap and there he ploughed. His brother, Shabalume, also found a place without trees and at a beautiful valley called Nyamambisi, he ploughed there. The chief Selolwane was

not successful in his lands but his brother found plenty of corn at the valley. Selolwane accused his brother of having bewitched his lands. They parted, the younger being driven away from home because of supposed witchcraft. Shabalume left with his uncle, Ndambale, and stayed with the Bakhurutshe. On his parting with the Bakhurutshe they made a settlement of their own and became a separate tribe, the Mfhashwa's and they continue to retain their old emblem, the hare.

Madandume, otherwise Magapatona

The Magapatona or the Madandume (in Sekalaka) have *kgorogoro* the bird known to the Makalaka a *chibelu*. The Nshakashokwe and the Mathakwane have sprung out of this *kgotla*. Nshakashokwe and Mathakwane were headmen. They left their original *kgotla* owing to the headmen malady. When Nshakashokwe left only young men went. They made their own village. They called the village: "the village of young men" or *Nzi we bhazhuzha* in Sekalaka. They are still called the Madandume's. Their emblem is the *Kgorogoro*. The Mathakwane's have become "bastards". They claim to be the Bamangwato and their emblem *phuti* (duiker).

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NOTES

(1) The "Children of the Sun" as an interpretation of the word *Bakalanga* has been challenged, and the following alternative suggested:

Vakaranja—the punishers, from *kusanga*—to punish. (*Nada*. 74 Vol. 24.)

But there is nothing in the tradition of these people to single out such a distinction, and one may legitimately ask; whom did they punish and why? I feel that such a derivation is just guess-work.

Had the verb *kuranga* meant to suckle, then *vakaranga* would mean the feeders.

Mr. J. Posselt in a private letter to me suggests that these people are called after the courtesy title of a wife of a former chief, i.e., Makaranga, but he does not suggest which chief started the practice nor the tribe in the conglomeration that forms this group, whence this chief arose.

In support of the derivation as "Children of the Sun", I advance the following facts. In North Africa an intense sun-cult persisted for several thousands of years—the Egyptian sun-cult, which did diffuse into Africa.

Bantu tribes today, further north than the present habitat of the Makaranga, still retain traces of a sun-cult and even address the sun as God.

The Makaranga were formerly much further north than they are today and so could have been influenced by sun-cult Bantu.

In the word, Makaranga, occurs a wide spread Bantu root: *anga*—sun. The earliest interpretation—that given by Theal, of Makaranga that we have, is "Children of the Sun". This interpretation was not a European invention.

Some Makaranga, e.g., the sub-chief Sebina of Serowe, Bechuanaland, still make this claim and one cannot ignore it any more than one can ignore my own claim to be British and not, e.g., a heathen Chinese.

This type of name, "The Children of the Sun", is found among the Chamba of Northern Nigeria; also among the Nyamkuna and among the Ibo of Southern Nigeria where the word *Chuku* means the "Children of the Sun", and as such is a generic type of name.

A stereotyped name for the chief connoting sun is common and the name *langa* is found as a title or name for chiefs among the Makaranga; just as Son of the Sun was the title of any a Pharaoh, and was also adopted by foreign invaders. "Excavations made in recent years prove that the Hyksos kings called themselves "Sons of Rā" as did the old kings of Egypt." (Budge, A.E. *A History of Egypt*, vol. III, p. 141 . . . 1902.)

(2) *Nyai* may, from the general context, be connected with the root *nyi*—sun: If so, then Banyai is another instance of the name "Children of the Sun". It would seem that the Banyai and the Borozwi are one and the same people. "Further, it was stated that the Borozwi (or Banyai) were driven from the Zambesi to the confluence of the Limpopo and the Lebvubye" (Roberts J. G. *Totemism, Zimbabwe and the Barozwi*. 51. *Nada* 1947).

(3) The personal name of the king is seldom used. (Cfr. *General Bantu Practice*.)

(4) Munumutapa is clearly a composite word but no satisfactory derivation or meaning for it has been found as yet. "There are no means of tracing from the present languages the etymology of the word *Monomotapa* the interpretations given are at the best merely speculative . . ." (Foot-note). The Rev. H. C. Hugo informs me that the chief of the Vakaranga was Mutapa (the owner of vassals) hence the name Munumutapa. Compare *kutabaga*—to raid, to kidnap; *mutalega*—a raided person, a person captured in war. See also Johnston's *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages* and the note on page 24; also Theal's *History and Ethnography of South Africa before 1795*, vol. I, 293. London 1907. (Posselt, F. W. T. *A Survey of the Native Tribes of Southern Rhodesia*. 7. Salisbury, 1927).

(5) The close connection between the Barozwi and the king of the Makalanga as related here is again indicated by the name Damboshaba. The name of the second Barozwi king is given as *Dombo ra kone Chingnango* (Rock which defeated a foe).

(Posselt, F. W. T. *The Mambo and his Court*. p. 4, Salisbury, 1923.)

(6) The use of stone, as a throne of kings, is wide-spread in Africa. The divine Umundri king of the Umundri Group among the Ibo; the king of the Bamum in the French Cameroons have also to sit on stones as part of the Coronation Ceremony. The use of stone thrones extends beyond Africa. The King of England is enthroned on the Stone of Scone. The Pope of Rome is also installed on a stone seat.

(7) This African confirmation of the doctrine of the dynamism of kings is most acceptable. The insulation of the earth from the king is,

in other countries, effected by wearing sandals, the origin of our shoes.

(8) A similar custom is reported among the Zala: "And on the morrow after the day of our funeral lamentation, if there arise some little omen, (such as . . . a snake coming and taking up its abode in it (a hut) . . .)". (Callaway. *The Religious System of the Amazulu*. 28. London, 1870.)

(9) It would seem that the charm-horns contain the sacra of the tribe and he who possesses them has the mystical power of being king, of ruling over the tribe. It is not said what these horns contain but in other Bantu tribes some of the dirt scraped off predeceased kings with a little hair and nail parings are the sacred substances that fill the horns that are the sacra of the tribe. "He (the chief) further possesses horns or vessels filled with a potent magical paste giving him power over his enemies, and must use them for doctoring the tribe in time of war or other emergency." (Schapera, I. *The Bantu Speaking Tribes of South Africa*. 179. London, 1937)

(10) A similar account comes from Southern Rhodesia. "The Mwari or Mlimo, the deity of the Kalanga, was consulted at times by the Mambo in this respect [for rain]. But there is evidence that the Mwari was at one time, at any rate, viewed with suspicion by him. It is related that the Mambo wished to see the Mwari while on a visit to one of his headmen. A voice was heard to emanate from a bundle of grass. It was presented to the Mambo that it was the voice

of Mwari; on that he ordered the grass to be searched. Though it was scattered and finally burned, no one could be found. Then the voice came from a tree. He ordered the tree to be dug up and split into bits. Still no one could be found. Then the voice came from a rock. Though this was burned and broken, the Mwari could not be discovered. In spite of this, the Mambo appears to have remained sceptical.

"Subsequently Mwari sent a demand for tribute in the form of a number of girls. The Mambo refused to deliver these on the ground that he could not give them to a being who could be heard only, and not seen. This refusal incensed Mwari (or rather his representatives) who threatened him with ruin.

"On another occasion Mwari, being angered by reason of certain cattle he claimed being refused him by the Mambo, is said to have predicted that his "children with big buttocks" would invade the country and overthrow him. Shortly afterwards the Swazi appeared in the country and finally defeated the Barozwi. It was believed that these were the people Mwari had referred to and that they were the agents of wrath."

(11) In Nigeria some of the tribes there refer to the vulture as "God's messenger". e.g., the Ibibio.

(12) This account recalls a similar act of diplomacy by Moshesh of Basutoland.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

A Short History of Sex-worship. H. CUTTER
1940. London : Watts. 222 pp.

This book purports to be a short history of sex-worship. It has an introduction by the Hebrew scholar, Professor Maurice Canney. I was surprised that Professor Canney should write an introduction to so unscholarly a book.

The author gives the impression that he is obsessed with phallicism, —a straight line is for him a phallus. Every monolith is likewise a phallus. Having buried a deceased, what is there more natural than to mark the spot with a stone or a stake ? For the author such markers become at once phallic emblems. One expected him to point to the words "Resurgam" on some grave-stones as proof positive of the phallic significance of tomb stones and the persistence of the cult of phallicism in present day Christianity. He has refrained, but he writes : "Altars were probably a modified form of the phallus, and it may well be that their earliest form was no different from the extant stone phalli", and may be they were not. That some monoliths became phallic emblems is not disputed, but to imply that most monoliths are phallic in origin betokens a lack of scholarly self-criticism.

It is well known that altars started by being the burial mounds of the worshipped dead—were animistic in origin—hence in the Roman Catholic Church there is the rule "no altar, no relique". Under an altar, in order to consecrate it, there must be part of a dead saint. Where then is the phallic origin ?

The author sees in the letter P, and in many words beginning with it, a phallic origin, thus : "They [religious people] are astonished to learn that even such words as Palestine and Philistine may hide unmistakably phallic meanings derived from the letter P." Well, well, and I have shown that Philistine, from which Palestine is derived, comes from a root Pal, Ful, Phil, etc. meaning to flee, to wander, to roam, to emigrate, hence strange, foreign. In other words Philistine merely means foreigner, stranger, and has no connection

whatsoever with phallicism.¹ It is such far sought analogies that betrays the lack of scholarship.

The author presses the claim that a stone phallus was the symbol carried in the Ark of the Covenant. If he could show that an image of the lost phallus of Osiris had likewise been enshrined in the Egyptian sacred boat there would be good grounds for a similar deduction in connection with the Ark of the Covenant. Otherwise I prefer a more conventional interpretation.

The author suggests that there is a connection between the Greek word Adonis and the Hebrew, Adonai, both terms being applied to gods. His suggestion would have carried more weight if presented as follows. Ancient Egypt greatly influenced the ancient world, including that of the Hebrews and of the Greeks. In ancient Egypt Usira (Osiris) = Lord above ; in Hebrew, Adonai = Lord, so that in Greece, Adonis, probably also = Lord. There is sufficient similarity in both concept and context to say that this form of address for a supreme being is not a coincidence, or an instance of the psychic unity of mankind, or an example of convergence, but rather a borrowing from a common source. The historical evidence points to Usira being the earliest in use that and the Hebrew Adonai, the most recent. It would seem that the idea of addressing the Supreme Being as "Lord" is a legacy from ancient Egypt.

However the most irritating part of the book is the author's lack of a time sense. He will cheerfully ignore time sequences to make his points. "It was not only in Greece, however, that the worship of Venus was so prominent. Just as Priapus was worshipped under other names, so was Venus. She was Mylitta, and Astoreth, and Astarte, and Aphrodite, and even Semiramis." As the statement stands one concludes that Venus was the *fons et origo* from which the others sprang whereas Venus comes

¹ Jeffreys, M. D. W. "L'origine du nom Fulani". *Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camérounaises*. Douala, Mars 1944.

towards the end of a long line of fertility goddesses.

The serpent in the Garden of Eden is regarded as a phallic symbol, but kings were represented as serpents and there is good authority for regarding the interview between Eve and the Serpent as an allegory of the blandishments of a foreign king and as having no phallic significance at all. This point of view is not mentioned.

Judging from the author's remarks about the naked human body one gathers that the nude and phallic worship are almost synonymous. Yet men started without clothes; many of the tribes of the Cameroons are still in this state and though I have been among them for ten years I found no traces of phallic worship.

The oil palm (*Eliea guineensis*) is selected as a phallic symbol. "In the town of Qua, near Old Calabar, there used to grow a palm tree which ensured conception to any barren woman who ate a nut from its branches." Old Calabar and Kwa Town (as it is now spelt) are well known to me. I served in the Calabar Province for many years. The land is thick with oil-palms; palm-oil and palm kernels are the main native export crops. This palm was not credited with producing fertility because it was a pole or phallus, but because it was (a) a royal palm producing a special variety of fruit; (b) because it had been consecrated.

The author suggests that from the start mankind was licentious, and marvels at the monogamy of early Scandinavia—"two things fill me with wonder: the stars in their courses above and the moral law below". Yet the characteristic feature of all people to-day of savage culture is their monogamy and decency—an outlook stressed by Dr. Perry in his book the *Primordial Ocean*.

So far as the evidence goes, phallicism appears with civilization and does not precede it. When the human being was fully occupied with getting sustenance and maintaining his life against nature there was no time for contemplative eroticism. Leisure gained through civilization provided the opportunity for the development of this cult.

This sequence can be clearly seen in the case

of the Hebrew nomad pastoralists: "Upon entering Canaan, the Israelites found the Ishtar cult flourishing among the settled and civilised agriculturists of that area. . . . The Israelites adopted, as many scholars hold, many features of its ritual." (Devereux, G. and Loeb, E. M. "Antagonistic Acculturation." *American Sociological Review*. 144. April 1943.)

As already mentioned, any pillar, rod, or pole becomes a phallic emblem to the author, though he admits that an obelisk started by symbolising a ray of the sun. He then deduces that as the sun's rays fertilise the earth they are phallic rays and so the obelisk is phallic. Heaven be praised that this interpretation is that of the author and not that of those who raised the obelisk.

For some time I worked among the Ibo around Akwa in Southern Nigeria. These people have a strong sun-cult. One of the offerings they make are "cigars" of white clay—white because white is the colour of the sun and of ancestral spirits. The author would find himself in company with Dr. Talbot who sees in these cylinders a phallic significance. I made repeated enquiries but could get no hint that for the Ibo they had any such significance, nor did I come across any instances of sex-worship.

The author's excursions with the letters I and O in connection with the name Jehovah are not convincing. He is dealing with symbols in the Latin script where it is possible to attach a sex significance, but were the corresponding symbols in the Hebrew script also sex significant?

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

264 Zulu Proverbs, Idioms, etc. and The Cries of Thirty-seven Birds. R. G. DUNNING. Durban. Knox P. & P. Co., pp. 58, 5.

This little book may prove to be a popular enlightener upon some of the more common aphoristic sayings of the Zulu for readers who know little of this side of Bantu wisdom-lore; but it cannot claim to be a scientific study of the subject. There are two parts to the book: the proverbs and the bird-calls. With regard to the first most of the 264 here given are to be found in Bryant's Dictionary, where they can be easily

referred to under a leading word, or in Samuelson's Dictionary, where they are herded together indiscriminately and inadequately described. A good proportion of them, too, is to be found in the collections published by Stuhardt (144 in *Nada*), Stuart (150 in his various readers) and Mayr (129 in a little article, difficult to come by to-day). But Bantu languages have many more proverbs than a collection such as Dunning's would suggest. We have heard of some 3,000 being collected in the Luba language of the Congo. The largest published collection is that of nearly 2,000 in Lamba. The earliest published collection was that scholarly work of W. E. Taylor in Swahili in 1891: *African Aphorisms, or, Laws from Swahili-land*, a model of careful treatment; these numbered somewhat over 600, and Taylor has left an unfinished revision of his work which contains about 2500 Swahili aphorisms.

Such work dwarfs the present little collection. This collection, too, has no method in dealing with the entries. They are not according to any subject order, as is the Tsonga work of Junod and Jaques; nor are they alphabetical as was Taylor's; nor are they under any outstanding word they contain, as is done in dictionary treatment. In fact, if a reader wants to find the meaning of a particular Zulu proverb in this work he would have to go through the whole 264 to look for it.

When one considers that Spanish proverbs are estimated to number 30,000 and that Wanders' estimate of German proverbs is 145,000, it is obvious that a real serious study of the proverbs of Zulu is called for.

With regard to the second part of this book, the Zulu interpretation of the cries of 37 birds gives some interesting material; though, here again, only the surface has been scratched. The writer should have studied R. Godfrey's splendid *Bird-lore of the Eastern Cape Province*, and profited by his method and wealth of knowledge. In that book much Zulu material is brought in for comparison with Xhosa with which Godfrey deals.

Altogether this book is a very "slight" contribution to knowledge.

C. M. D

'Musa Pelo. K. E. NTSANE 1946. *Morija, Basutoland*. 76 pp.

Like Bereng's *Lithothokiso*, this is a book of poems which differ from the praise-poems (*lithoko*) both in content and, in most cases, in form as well. The subject-matter of the poems is varied. There are poems on trains and journeys to work from Basutoland, poems on rivers like the Caledon, on villages like Matsieng, the home of the paramount chiefs of Basutoland, poems on the Basotho, the Basotho soldiers in the recent war. There are also poems on such subjects as evening, sleep, love and others reflecting the hardships of life.

Throughout the book the author appears as one who is very humorous. His humour is seen at its best in two of the last three poems viz., "Lumelisa Base" (Greet the boss) in which he describes in a humorous way the vain advantages to be gained by "greeting the boss". In "Bo-Khooana-Tšoana" (Black Europeans) he holds to ridicule his fellow-Africans who imitate the European way of living: their dress, their habits half-European, half-African, their language, their starvation which stands out as a sharp contrast to their "smart" dressing, and above all the way in which they despise their own brethren.

The author has made a very careful selection of his words, and while using Sotho words very well, he does not refrain from using foreign acquisitions especially where no Sotho equivalents are found. Even where equivalents are found, he sometimes uses foreign acquisitions where these convey the exact meaning which he wants to express or the correct emotional colouring. In some of the poems an attempt at rhyme has been made but this does not constitute an improvement.

A fair proportion of the poems in the anthology is very good. "Chuchumakhala" gives a vivid description of a train on a journey. In "Ho Thusa'ng?" (What does it help?) the author deals with the insincerity of human beings who do not seem to know what they expect of their fellows. In "Fatšeng lena" (In this world) and "Li-ea-banneng" the author gives a picture of the hardships of life and finds comfort in the

thought of "Mohla a tlang" (The day He comes), pointing to the second advent of Christ. These and others stand out as good signs of what may be expected of this author in future.

S. M. MOFOKENG.

Robert Gray. AUDREY BROOKE 1947. Oxford University Press. 158 pp. 10s 6d.

This is a record of the stormy life of controversy lived by the first Bishop of Cape Town written by one who admired without stint his long warfare against secular control of Church affairs in South Africa. The great controversies which raged around Bishop Gray are not without their repercussions even to-day, for echoes of the Long case are still to be heard in the contentions between the "Evangelical" Church of England and the Church of the Province of South Africa, which Bishop Gray was instrumental in founding.

Though Mrs. Brookes' account is distinctly partisan, she has handled much of her material with a certain amount of restraint; and through all the bitterness of the Colenso controversy she has been able to give a tribute to Colenso's great work for the Zulu people and the Zulu language.

The author has not made it clear that this story of Bishop Gray provides the battle-ground of the three main sections of the Church of England: the Evangelicals (represented by Dr. Long), the Modernists (represented by Bishop Colenso) and the Anglo-Romans (represented by Bishop Gray) —otherwise labelled Low Church, Higher-critical Church and High Church respectively.

The book is very well written, and the picture of Mr. Gray, "Sophie", woven throughout is charming. It provides an interesting as well as informative account for any reader, whatever his religious convictions may be.

C.M.D.